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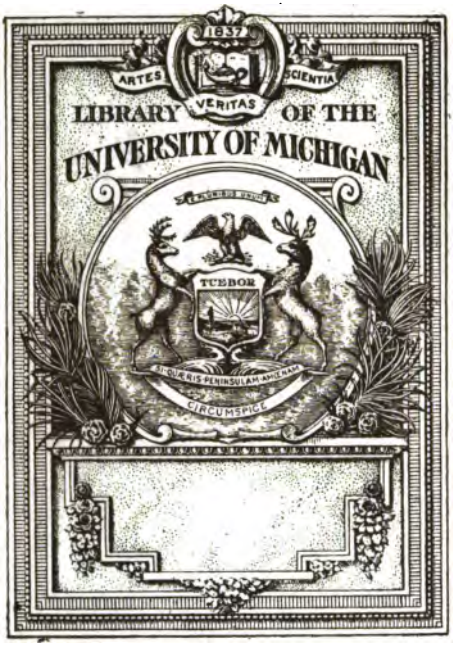
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MEMOIRS

OF

BARON DE TOTT.

CONTAINING THE STATE OF THE

TURKISH EMPIRE AND THE CRIMEA,

DURING THE LATE

WAR WITH RUSSIA.

WITH NUMEROUS

ANECDOTES, FACTS, AND OBSERVATIONS,

ON THE

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF THE

TURKS AND TARTARS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED,

The STRICTURES of M. DE PEYSSONNEL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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MDCCLXXXVI.

MEMOIRS

OF

BARON DE TOTT.

PART THE THIRD.

I HAD ſeen, during my journey, but a ſmall part of the Cruelties and Diſorders of the Turkiſh Army, on its leaving Conſtantinople; but on my arrival in that City, I found every one ſtill agitated with a horrible Spectacle, juſt exhibited, of which I could eaſily collect the particulars.

An antient Cuſtom, the origin and uſe of which is no longer known, has mixed the moſt inſipid buffoonry with the act of aſſembling together the Forces of this vaſt Empire. This ridiculous Ceremony is called by the Turks Alay: that is to ſay, The Triumph. It conſiſts in a kind of Maſ-

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querade, in which each Trade, ſucceſſively, preſents to the Spectators the mechanical exerciſe of its reſpective Art. The Labourer draws his Plough, the Weaver handles his Shuttle, the Joiner his Plane, and theſe different Characters, ſeated in Cars, richly ornamented, commence the Proceſſion, and precede the Standard of Mahomet *(a)*, when it is brought out of the Seraglio to

(a) This Standard is of green ſilk, and preſerved in the Treaſury, whence it is never brought out but to be carried to the Army. It was indeed intended to diſplay it againſt the Rebels, who dethroned Sultan Achmet. The Viſir of that Prince, who was the firſt Victim to the rage of the Malcontents, had given this counſel to his Maſter, and the Inſurgents, who had no object in view but Plunder, would certainly have been diſperſed by the numbers which the holy Banner would have united againſt them. They likewiſe preſerve in the Treaſury another Relict of Mahomet. This is every year dipped into a quantity of water, which is afterwards diſtributed, in phials, to the Grandees of the Empire. The Infidels, for there are ſuch even among the True-Believers, pretend this Relict is only an old pair of the Prophet's Breeches; but it is certain this Holy Water is dear enough to thoſe who are favoured with it; and thoſe who diſpenſe it, know how to employ the things of this

to be carried to the Army, in order to inſure Victory to the Ottoman Troops.

This Banner of the Turks, which they name Sandjak-Cherif, or the Standard of the Prophet, is ſo revered among them, that, notwithſtanding its Reputation has been ſo often tarniſhed, it ſtill retains their implicit Confidence, and is the ſacred Signal unto which they rally. Every thing proclaims its Sanctity. None but the Emirs are allowed to touch it, they are its Guards, and it is carried by their Chief. The Muſſulmen alone are permitted to look upon it; if touched by other hands it would be defiled, if ſeen by other eyes profaned; in ſhort, it is encompaſſed by the moſt barbarous Fanaticiſm.

A long Peace had unfortunately cauſed the ridiculouſneſs, and eſpecially the danger, of this Ceremony to be forgotten. The Chriſtians, imprudently, crouded to ſee it, and the Turks, who, by the ſituation of their houſes, could make money of their windows, began to profit by the advantage;

this World, and the Salvation of the World to come, to purpoſes of Extortion.

when an Emir, who preceded the Banner, proclaimed, with a loud voice: LET NO INFIDEL DARE TO PROFANE WITH HIS PRESENCE THE HOLY STANDARD OF THE PROPHET; AND LET EVERY MUSSULMAN WHO PERCEIVES AN UNBELIEVER MAKE IT KNOWN UNDER PAIN OF REPROBATION.

From that moment no Aſylum was to be found; even thoſe became Informers, who, by letting out their houſes, had rendered themſelves Accomplices in the Crime. A Religious Fury ſeized on every mind, and put arms in every hand; the more atrocious the Cruelty, the more was it meritorious. No Regard was paid to Sex or Age; pregnant Women, dragged by the hair, and trodden under Feet by the Multitude, periſhed in the moſt deplorable manner. Nothing was reſpected by theſe Monſters; and under ſuch auſpices the Turks commenced the War.

The Katty-Cherif (or Imperial Mandate) by which it was proclaimed, expreſſed in the uſual form, invited all True-Believers, able to bear arms, to unite under the Stand-

Standard of the Faith to combat its Enemies. This Kind of Convocation, by Arrier-ban, promiſed a numerous Army, but it was far from promiſing an army compoſed of good Troops. Ignorance and Avarice rather choſe to aſſemble this Multitude of Volunteers, who were not to be provided for after the War, than to employ the Janiſſaries, whoſe pay and demands would be continually increaſing. It may likewiſe be preſumed, that the Grand Seignior, fearing to reſtore to this Corps the power of which his Father had been the Victim, wiſhed only to make uſe of it as an addition to his Forces.

The moſt eſſential, though at the ſame time leaſt expected, inconvenience, was the abſolute want of foreſight with regard to Proviſions. It is the nature of Deſpotiſm continually to flatter itſelf, that Authority will ſupply the place of Prudence. The Grand Viſir commanded the Army; all the Miniſters accompanied him; even the Regiſters of the Chancery followed in his Train. No doubt was entertained either

of Succeſs or Plenty; and this blind Confidence was general.

While theſe great Officers, by removing from Conſtantinople, ſeemed to carry with them the very Seat of Empire, Subſtitutes, appointed to each Employment, were reſident in the Capital, and reſpondent to the Deſpot for the prompt execution of his will *(b)*.

Let us now take a view of the Springs of Government in action; and the ſucceſſive Incidents, I ſhall preſent, will enable us to form a better Judgment than we can from a vague Diſſertation, unſupported by Facts.

A few days after my arrival at Conſtantinople, and before I had time to make the neceſſary arrangements to haſten the return of my Baggage, which I had left in the Crimea, and Beſſarabia, the Firſt Phyſician of the Grand Seignior ſent, at eleven o'clock

(b) It is however to be remarked, that the abſence of the Regiſters of the Chancery muſt, neceſſarily, retard thoſe Orders, the execution of which requires Form; but it is likewiſe to be obſerved, that affairs of this kind rarely intereſt the Deſpot, and that, if they did, he would diſpenſe with Form.

at

at night, to aſk permiſſion to pay me a Viſit. His myſterious manner, added to the Knowledge I had of the great favor he was in with the Sultan, excited my curioſity; though I did not preſume to ſuppoſe he was charged with a direct meſſage: the Phyſician, however, informed me, that Sultan Muſtapha, having heard of my return, had ſent him expreſsly to enquire what had occaſioned it. If you have a complaint againſt any one, ſaid he, immediate juſtice ſhall be done you. I have juſt parted from the Sultan; he ſpoke much concerning you, knows the origin of your family *(c)* and thinks he has a right to your zealous Services. I begged the Phyſician to aſſure his Highneſs of my Gratitude. Though this meaſure ſeemed produced by private eſteem, I clearly perceived I was not perſonally the object of Sollicitation to a Prince whoſe Armies were in the Field. This Meſſenger, who was to carry back my an-

(c) It has been already ſeen, that my Father was a Hungarian, that he had followed Prince Ragotzy, and it is well known that the Porte granted refuge to that Prince, and all thoſe who accompanied him.

ſwer, returned again, at the ſame hour as before, but better informed. As this Italian Phyſician (8) ſpoke Turkiſh but indifferently, the Queſtions he was directed to put to me were ſent in writing; I alſo wrote back my anſwer, and this Correſpondence with the Grand Seignior, which procured me his confidence, was unknown to his Miniſters, until his Highneſs required from me Services which could no longer be concealed.

Emin-Pacha, without any talents neceſſary for the Poſt, either of Viſir or General, blinded by ſelf-love, believed he could preſerve the one without Danger, and fill the other with Glory, and finiſh the War before it was well begun. His Army, continually increaſed by the acceſſion of Fanatick Muſſulmen, ſoon became the moſt dangerous Enemy of the Empire. The want of Proviſions, the diſorder of this famiſhed Multitude, the Pillage which attended diſtribution, and the Murders which enſued, an authority always weak, and always deſpiſed when the adminiſtration is evidently vicious, mutually conſpired to render an alteration

alteration neceſſary. The Grand Seignior, who, alone, really intereſted himſelf in the Succeſs of his Army, diſpatched, to the Viſir, an order for ſome new Regulations. Emin-Pacha had the Audacity to diſobey; his falſe Policy was miſtaken, his Army defeated, and, ſoon after, an order, more punctually executed, placed his head on the Gate of the Seraglio, with this inſcription: FOR NOT HAVING FOLLOWED THE PLAN OF OPERATIONS SENT HIM IMMEDIATELY FROM THE EMPEROR.

He was ſucceeded by Moldovangi. This new Viſir proved more enterpriſing, though not more able; he was defeated in like manner; but he was fortunate enough, when deprived of the Viſiriat, only to loſe a Place no leſs dangerous than eminent, and which no one could properly fill.

To the haughty Ignorance of the Generals was added the ſtupid Preſumption of the Subalterns; and the Turks, who took the field with a prodigious train of Artillery, but which conſiſted of Pieces ill mounted, and full as ill ſerved, ſlaughtered in every Action by the Cannon of their

their Enemies, could only avenge themſelves for their Diſaſters by accuſing the Ruſſians of cowardly Artifice. They overpower us, ſaid they, by the Superiority of their Fire, which, in fact, it is impoſſible to approach; but let them leave their abominable Batteries, and encounter us like brave men, hand to hand, and we ſhall ſoon ſee whether theſe Infidels can reſiſt the ſlaughtering ſabre of the True-Believers.

This Multitude of wretched Fanaticks even reproached the Ruſſians for having attacked them during the holy Seaſon of Ramazan. Nevertheleſs, the Grand-Seignior, having been informed that the Howitzes had very much annoyed his Cavalry, enquired of me what kind of Artillery they were; for they were unknown at Conſtantinople. To ſatisfy his deſire to be informed, concerning the different Bombs and Pieces of Ordnance made uſe of in Europe, I ſent that Prince the Memoirs of Saint Remy; he could only examine the Plates; and theſe he had carried after him, when he went abroad, by one of his Attendants.

Sultan

Sultan Muſtapha, whoſe firſt care, as we have already ſeen, was employed on his Finances, after having laviſhed enormous Sums, without Succeſs, began to bargain with his Miniſters concerning the new expences they propoſed; and, while they reproached him with Avarice, he blamed himſelf for yielding too eaſily, which, he ſaid, only ſerved to enrich the Knaves about him. It certainly was not to be ſuppoſed, this Prince could ſee, without concern, his Treaſures ſquandered, his Army mouldering away, and thoſe Enemies whom he imagined would be ſubdued the firſt Campaign, already victorious on the Danube, and threatening him with an Invaſion in the Archipelago.

His activity cauſed him to diſcover new Abuſes every moment. He complained of them to his Miniſters, never without making them tremble, but always without effect; for, had they wiſhed to re-eſtabliſh good Order, it was ſcarcely in their power. The Recruits, who were to join the Army from the extremity of Aſia, paſſed the Boſphorus, and halted at Conſtantinople, not ſo much

much to ſolicit as to enforce their own terms on the Porte.

While the Officers were bargaining about their pay for the Campaign, theſe Aſiatics, diſperſed through the Capital, compleatly armed, and every night robbing every one they met, haſtened the Negociation, by rendering it abſolutely neceſſary to get rid of ſuch a lawleſs Multitude. The Government, too weak to repreſs their Inſolence, ſtipulated to no purpoſe, and ceded without ſhame. Among the number of theſe Banditti, was a body that came from the Country of the Las *(d)*, who learned, on their arrival, that ſome Janiſſaries of their Company *(e)*, were confined in the Fortreſs of Yſſar *(f)*, on the Strait. The Porte had

(d) This Country extends along the Southern Coaſt of the Black Sea, and contains the Cities of Synopus and Trebiſonde.

(e) This Company, which, I believe, is the thirty-fifth, is the more numerous, as the Las never inliſt in any other; and the number of thoſe enrolled amounts to thirty Thouſand.

(f) This is the Caſtle where thoſe Janiſſaries are confined whom they intend to puniſh or ſtrangle; on which account, an impriſonment in it is, to them, a very perilous Situation.

acceded

acceded to their Terms, and had advanced them pay; but they farther demanded the releaſe of the Priſoners. The Viſir neither dared to grant nor refuſe this Requeſt; he was obliged to have recourſe to an Accommodation. It was agreed, they ſhould make an attack on the Caſtle, fire upon the Gate, and the Governor, ſeemingly compelled by this act of Hoſtility, ſhould give up his Priſoners.

There were Precedents to juſtify this ridiculous expedient; but it is not the leſs a proof of the Cowardice obſervable in an abſolute Government, and exhibits the invariable character of Deſpotiſm. The arbitrary Monarch cannot loſe his power, for a moment, but it is immediately ſeized on by the Multitude.

While the feebleneſs of the Government made it connive at the exceſſes of a licentious Soldiery, the Miniſters ſought to conceal the War by Sea, with which the Empire was threatened. No Ruſſian Ship had yet ever appeared at Conſtantinople, therefore, ſaid they, the Ruſſians have no Ships: or if, by chance, they have, that is nothing

to

to the purpoſe, ſince there is no communication between the Baltic and the Archipelago. Neither the Danes nor Swedes, whoſe Flags were known to the Turks, could overthrow this favourite argument. Shewing them Maps had no better effect, and the Divan was not yet perſuaded of the poſſibility of the fact, when news was brought of the Siege of Coron, the Invaſion of the Morea, and the appearance of twelve Ruſſian Ships of the Line *(g)*.

The uncertainty of the Miniſtry, however, did not prevent their preparing a Maritime Force. They haſtened the fitting out of thirty Men of War, and expected,

(g) There are ſeveral examples of the Ignorance of the Turks in Geography ſtill more ſurprizing than this. A Venetian Ambaſſador, coming to Conſtantinople with two Ships of War belonging to the Republic, met, in the Archipelago, the Fleet of the Grand Seignior, which, in time of Peace, goes out, annually, to collect the Tribute of the neighbouring Iſlands. The Turkiſh Admiral invited his Excellency on board, to entertain him; and, in the courſe of their converſation, aſked him, Whether the Territories of Venice were near thoſe of Ruſſia? the Venetian, deſpiſing his Ignorance, replied, Yes, there is only the Ottoman Empire between them.

with

with ſuch a decided Superiority, to make amends, in the Archipelago, for the loſſes they had ſuffered on the Danube.

It was likewiſe found, in the Records of the Empire, that the laſt War with Ruſſia had occaſioned the fitting out of a hundred and fifty Galliots, intended to penetrate into the Sea of Azoph; and, the particulars mentioned in the account of the expences not ſpecifying the Motives of this Armament, it was forgotten that the Ports of Azoph and Taganrog ſtood for nothing in the preſent War; the building of the Galiots was ordered, and carried on with the greateſt diſpatch.

Theſe Preparations, by furniſhing plenty of money to the Soldiers and Sailors, intended for the two Fleets, carried their licentiouſneſs to ſuch an exceſs, that every day produced ſome new extravagance; and M. le Comte de St. Prieſt, the French Ambaſſador, whom the fine weather invited to his houſe near the Strait, not willing to be deprived of the pleaſure of the Country, nor expoſed to the inſults of the Soldiery, which he had already experienced when

in

in his carriage, reſolved to travel with the Bayonet fixed, and cauſe all his Attendants to do the ſame; which was the only means to procure reſpect from the numerous Banditti perpetually repairing to the Army both by Sea and Land.

The ſituation of the French Ambaſſador's Palace in the Country was ſuch, that all the Boats, which went up the Strait, muſt paſs under the windows, which, towards the Sea, were carefully kept ſhut.

We had gone out, after dinner, to take our uſual walk, and already gained the heights of Tarapia, when we heard a briſk firing of Muſquetry, at Sea, near the Palace, and ſtopt to conſider what occaſioned it, when the ſhouting of a Man, coming towards us, drew the attention of M. de Saint Prieſt. From him we learned that the Palace was attacked by a number of theſe raſcals, and haſtened our return to repreſs their audacity, but could not arrive in time; the Boat, from which they had fired upon the Palace, was already at a conſiderable diſtance; and though the Ambaſſador had only a few Shutters ſhot through, and Windows broken, by ſome

dozen

dozen of bullets which we found in the Saloon, this Inſult appeared to him of ſufficient importance to juſtify a Complaint to the Porte. An Interpreter, diſpatched for that purpoſe, reported the matter to the Reis Effendi, who heard it with marks of the greateſt concern. What, ſaid he, have theſe Raſcals dared to inſult the Palace of the French Ambaſſador! They muſt be Idiots; How could they expect to eſcape puniſhment? They could not but know that, on the firſt Complaint, they would be immediately purſued. Such an inſult is inexcuſable Madneſs! They might have found Houſes enough belonging to Greeks, Jews, and Armenians in their way! Why did they not attack them inſtead of plunging us into ſuch an embarraſſment!

Thus did this Miniſter lament the neceſſity of ſecuring the Tranquility of an Ambaſſador, while he made no difficulty of ſacrificing that of the Public. A Colonel of the Janiſſaries was ordered, with a Party, to guard the Country-houſe of M. de Saint Prieſt. Other Officers, of the ſame Corps, were diſpatched to ſeize the Offen-

ders, before the departure of a Veſſel which was to carry them to Varma; and it was ſoon after aſſerted that they had been taken and drowned; but the weakneſs of the Government was ſuch, that this falſe report did not even appear probable.

Some time after, an adventure, of the ſame kind, which, though it originated in a leſs ſerious cauſe, might have terminated very diſagreeably, happened at my door. I occupied the Country-houſe which M. de Vergennes had built, during his Embaſſy, at Buyukdera. A Quay, which ſerved for a road, ſeparated it from the Sea. Some Soldiers, paſſing by, talked ſo loud that a Parroquet, the cage of which was hung in a high window, diſtinguiſhed, and repeated ſome free expreſſions with which their gaiety ſeaſoned their Diſcourſe. They immediately ſtopped to abuſe him who dared to mock them, and this Abuſe too was repeated in the ſame manner. They became outrageous, prepared their Arms, and were on the point of attacking the houſe, to revenge themſelves on thoſe within, when the noiſe rouſed the attention of a Janiſſary, whom I kept

kept there as a Guard, and who opened the Door to diſcover the reaſon of the Tumult, juſt as their rage was at its height. Though he was in no ſmall danger of being made their firſt Victim, he, however, came to an explanation, and told them of the Parroquet. This excuſe only irritated them the more, till at laſt, by ſhewing them the Offender, they were, with difficulty, appeaſed, and prevailed on to lay aſide their reſentment. Some baſons of Coffee, being offered them, were accepted, and thus an end was put to this Quarrel, no leſs difficult to avoid than foreſee.

While the Capital and its Environs were infeſted by a licentious ſoldiery, who poſſeſſed no courage but that of Robbers, the Provinces were a prey to ſimilar Diſorders, and, oppreſſed by their Governors with as much impunity, ſuffered every ſpecies of Extortion. The principal object of the Miniſtry was, to provide, at once, ſupplies for Conſtantinople, and ſubſiſtence for the Troops; this rendered their Exactions more heavy, and at the ſame time more numerous. Their meaſures were, at firſt, ſo

ill concerted, that the People could not fail to ſuffer doubly; both from the precipitation, no leſs cruel than imperious, with which the Impoſts were levied, and the injuſtice of the Agents employed to levy them.

The Turkiſh Government may be always conſidered as an army encamped, the General of which iſſues orders, from his head Quarters, to forage the Country. In this manner the Viſir ſupplied his Army by the Black Sea, while the Capital depended, entirely, for its ſubſiſtence on the Proviſions brought from the Archipelago; which Supply was to be inſured by the Superiority of the maritime Forces prepared againſt the Ruſſians. But, though arbitrary Violence was able to haſten the conſtruction and fitting out of the Fleets, and to collect a number of men, whom it obliged to become Sailors, every thing plainly ſhewed, that Ignorance and Preſumption had conducted theſe Preparations.

High decked Veſſels, the lower tier Guns of which were laid under water by the leaſt Gale of wind, preſented the Enemy with much wood, and little fire. Embarraſſed

Manœuvres,

Manœuvres, Cordage and Pullies which broke on the leaſt effort, thirty men employed, in the Gun-room, to move the Tiller of the Helm, according as they were called to by the Pilot on the Fore-caſtle, no idea of properly ſtowing their Ballaſt, no nautical Knowledge, incumbered Decks, Guns without equality in the Calibre, were a part of the defects of this Armament, which was to be commanded by men too ignorant to perceive it had any Imperfection.

The ſeveral Stations, on board, were, nevertheleſs, objects of Intrigue; and the Captain-Pacha, who had the right of nominating the principal Officers, by diſpoſing of the Command of every Ship to the beſt bidder, gave each Captain the ſame right to ſell Commiſſions to his Inferiors. This paltry commerce, eſtabliſhed by Cuſtom, compleated the liſt of Blunders and Abſurdities, which were ſufficient, without the aid of their Enemies, intirely to annihilate the Turkiſh Marine. Accuſtomed, only, till then, annually to ravage the Archipelago, with a ſmall Squadron, the Sea Officers

knew nothing, either from Science or Experience, of any Military Principle; and when the Fleet was ready, it ſeemed as if nothing was to be done, but to Sail and receive a Tribute, which could not be diſputed. Haſſan, a Fugitive from Algiers, appointed Captain of the Admiral's Ship, ſeemed, alone, to go on board with an intention to fight: but this man, whoſe raſhneſs is known, and who imagined that raſhneſs would ſupply every defect, was deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by an Invention, no leſs deſtructive at Tcheſmai, than it appeared ſtrange at Conſtantinople. This Invention conſiſted in a number of Iron-bars, which, fixed to the Gun-wale, projected out horizontally beyond the Ship's ſide, in order to hinder the Enemy from boarding. Though this deſcription may give no great idea of the Genius of the Inventor, I believe I have ſaid enough, of the Abilities of the Turks, to leave no doubt but it muſt excite their Admiration.

The continuance of the South-wind prevented the Fleet from Sailing; and this delay, far from being employed to put it in better

better condition, only favoured the deſertion of the Sailors, and the extortions of the Commanders, under pretence of having their Ships completely manned.

The Army, though twice deſtroyed, was become more numerous than ever; and the Ottoman Empire, though powerfully attacked both by Sea and Land, defending itſelf, on every ſide, with forces triple to thoſe of its Enemies, gave itſelf up to all the Pride of Succeſs, of which it entertained no doubt.

The abſence of the Troops reſtored tranquility to the Capital; and the preſumptuous hopes of Victory kept the People in good humour. The Comte de Saint Prieſt was willing to take advantage of this diſpoſition, to give an Entertainment, on account of the marriage of the King of France; and, to amuſe the Turks, was deſirous of adding to the Balls and Diverſions which could only ſuit the Taſte of the Europeans, an Illumination, and ſome Fire-works, which I undertook to make. The Saloon we were obliged to build for the Ball was already finiſhed; the Fire-

works were prepared, and we were buſy in arranging the Decorations, when the doubly diſaſtrous news of the deſtruction of an Army and a Fleet arrived, ſpread a Conſternation through the City, and rendered all our Preparations uſeleſs.

It was no longer poſſible to think of giving Entertainments. The Grand Seignior was in the greateſt anxiety, his Miniſters in deſpair, the People diſtracted, and the Capital filled with the dread of Famine and Invaſion.

Such was then the Situation of an Empire, which, a month before, had believed itſelf ſo formidable. Yet Ignorance, which is always ready to flatter the Pride that accompanies it, ſaw nothing, in this double Cataſtrophe, but the impenetrable decrees of Providence, to which Mortals ſhould ſubmit with reſignation. No one conſidered, that an undiſciplined Multitude contributes more to its own deſtruction than all the efforts of its Enemies. But, though the want of Diſcipline, alone, ſufficed to deſtroy the land Army, at Craool, the concurrence of the moſt extravagant ſtupidity,

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on the part of the Admiral and his Officers, was neceſſary to complete the deſtruction of the Fleet, at Tcheſmai.

This Armament left the Strait of the Dardanelles to go in queſt of the Ruſſian Squadron; and, after bearing towards Chios, anchored on the Coaſt of Aſia, between the Continent and the Iſlands called Spalmadores, in front of the Port of Tcheſmai. Some Frigates, newly built (for the Turks were ignorant of their uſe before this War) were ſtationed at the extremities of this long line, to give notice of the Enemy's approach; and had orders to let them get entangled in this Channel, where thirty Ships, riding at convenient diſtances, and moored with four Anchors each, lay in wait.

This ingenious Ambuſcade being thus prepared, the Ruſſian Ships, better arranged, having doubled the Iſle of Chios, and perceived the Turkiſh Veſſels, penetrated quite to the center of their Line before the latter made any motion to get under Sail. The two Admirals, however, being laid ſide by ſide, the Ruſſian, after having poured in his Broadſide, cloſed with the Turk, in order

order to throw ſome Combuſtibles on board him, but blew up in the attempt. Haſſan Pacha, then Captain of the Admiral-Ship, from whom I had this account, having diſengaged himſelf from his Enemy, thought he was out of danger, when he perceived his Stern on fire, and his Ship ready to undergo the ſame Fate. The Crew had already thrown themſelves into the Sea; he ſoon followed, and was fortunate enough to lay hold of a Wreck of the Enemy's Ship, and eſcape the Exploſion of his own; for the fire was not long before it reached the Powder-room.

It is eaſy to perceive, on a calculation of the real loſs on each ſide, that of the Ruſſians, being far the moſt conſiderable, juſtified them in reſolving not to renew the Attack; but the Turks, whoſe military Knowledge ſcarcely extended to the effects of Saltpetre, terrified by thoſe it had produced, thought of nothing but being blown up, if the Ruſſians ſhould engage them again. Tcheſmai was the Aſylum whither all the Fleet retired, in the greateſt diſorder, and ſome Cannon, landed

landed in haſte, and placed on the two Capes which ſhut in the Port, gave ſuppoſed Security to the Fugitives.

The Ruſſians were, in the mean time, employed to watch the motions of the Enemy; and the next day learned, no doubt with great aſtoniſhment, what had paſſed at Tcheſmai. As they could only attribute this ſtrange conduct of the Turks to a panic Terror, which will always juſtify attempts that otherwiſe would ſeem leaſt likely to meet with Succeſs, they appeared before the Harbour, with two Fireſhips, which they ſent in. On the approach of the Ruſſians, the Turks, ſtill terrified with what had happened the preceding day, thought more of ſaving themſelves, on Shore, than defending their Ships; but the Sight of two ſmall Veſſels, ſailing into the Port, awakened in them their ideas of Conqueſt; and, as they took them for Deſerters, far from endeavouring to ſink them, they were only anxious for their ſafe arrival: they reſolved to lay the Crews in irons, and already enjoyed the pleaſure of

of carrying them in Triumph, to Conſtantinople *(b)*.

But theſe ſuppoſed Deſerters, entering without oppoſition, ſoon faſtened down their rudders, threw out their graplings, and, preſently, ſetting fire to their Veſſels the flames communicated to the whole Fleet. The Harbour of Tcheſmai, encumbered with Ships, Powder, and Artillery, ſoon became a Volcano, which englutted the whole naval Force of the Turks.

Though this Misfortune humbled the Ottoman Pride, the Miniſtry were in danger from a ſtill more important Calamity. The Capital was threatened with a Famine; for the deſtruction of the Turkiſh Fleet, by giving the Ruſſians the command of the Archipelago, prevented Conſtantinople from being furniſhed with Proviſions. The Enemy might even force the paſſage of the Straits, preſent themſelves before the Seraglio, ſack the City, and preſcribe their

(b) I have been aſſured of the Truth of this Anecdote by Haſſan-Pacha, whom I have mentioned above.

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own terms to the Grand Seignior. The Conſternation was general, nor was ever any fear better founded; and Ignorance, which always does itſelf juſtice when Terror has deſtroyed its Preſumption, could not object to the Grand Seignior's orders, that the defence of the Dardanelles ſhould be intirely committed to me, and the means of ſecuring the Capital left wholly to my directions.

This Commiſſion, however, could not be granted without the cuſtomary Forms, and the Porte haſtened to comply with them, by requeſting the permiſſion of the French Ambaſſador. I received an Invitation at the ſame time from the Reis-Effendi, preſſing me to come and concert with him the Meaſures I judged neceſſary in the preſent poſture of Affairs, and which certainly required the greateſt diſpatch.

I ſhall have ſuch frequent occaſion to mention the Turkiſh Miniſters, that it ſeems proper to make ſome preliminary Obſervations on the Characters of thoſe who were then in Office, as they will be neceſſary for underſtanding the following details.

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We have already ſeen that the Grand Seignior, addicted to Oeconomy ever ſince his advancement to the Throne, ſaw, with regret, his Treaſures diſſipated, without procuring him the Glory of which he was ambitious. Nor could this Prince blame thoſe Miniſters who were about his Perſon, for the Ill Succeſs of his Arms, which, if he thought them incapable of remedying, it unhappily was not in his power to ſubſtitute others of greater Abilities. Beſides, it was in the Army that extraordinary Talents were neceſſary; and thoſe who enjoyed the moſt of their Maſter's Favour, knew their intereſt too well, to perſuade him to remove them from his Perſon. Iſmael-Bey excelled moſt in that difficult Art, of governing his Sovereign, and managing all public Buſineſs, without renouncing perſonal tranquility, or forſaking any of his Pleaſures.

Iſed-Bey, Superintendant of the Coin, ſtood foremoſt in the Sultan's Favour; but without exciting either Hatred or Jealouſy. Too wiſe to be ambitious of the Poſt of Firſt Miniſter, he only employed his Influence to mitigate the haſty Anger which the

the Grand Seignior frequently expreſſed againſt the other Officers, and was ever ready to afford ſuccour to the indigent and unfortunate.

Mellek-Pacha, Caimakan, or Deputy to the Grand Viſir, and Brother-in-law to the Grand Seignior, was only remarkable for his elegant Figure, which had engaged the Sultana to aſk him of her Brother.

The Grand Treaſurer, leſs in favour, but proud of a Kind of Reputation which his Father had acquired in the laſt war, and full of confidence in that which he expected to acquire himſelf, more violent than ambitious, had alſo more activity than abilities.

The Miniſters of the Second Claſs, even the Mufti himſelf, had too ſmall a Share in the Government, to render it neceſſary to delineate their particular Characters.

Iſmael-Bey, appointed to confer with me on the State of the Dardanelles, and the danger which threatened the Capital, thought the fears of Government would be beſt concealed by holding our Conference in the Night. He received me in his own houſe, where I found him engaged in an affair

fair the Importance of which greatly diverted his attention from the Subject of our Meeting. This Turk, refining on all his Pleaſures, though childiſhly, was deſirous of poſſeſſing two Canary-Birds which ſhould both ſing the ſame air. His ſervants had ſearched the City to procure them, but without Succeſs; and this Miniſter was contriving how to gratify his Fancy, when I arrived to conſult by what means the Capital might be preſerved from the Cataſtrophe with which it was threatened.

The ſtate of the Dardanelles was not better known to him than myſelf; for it was evident, from the letters of Moldovangi-Pacha, formerly Grand Viſir, and who had only been degraded to the Subaltern Government of the Caſtles on the Strait, by the Title of Defender of the Dardanelles, that this Barrier, till then held impregnable, could not reſiſt the feebleſt attack. The Ruſſian Squadron, then ſailing, with a favourable Wind, in ſight of the firſt Caſtles, might, with eaſe, penetrate into the Sea of Marmora, and advance to the very Walls

of

of the Seraglio, and preſcribe its own Terms to the Grand Seignior.

Such was the Situation of this proud Court: the Ignorance of the Chief Miniſters, and the Knavery of the Subalterns, had reduced it to a ſtate ſo low, ſo humiliating and ſo diſtreſſing. An examination of the Caſtles, built near Conſtantinople, on the ſame plan with thoſe of the Dardanelles, ſerved to ſhew me what was to be done, on my arrival.

Means of ſecuring Ships of War did not ſeem eaſy to be obtained: two Veſſels, which, not being able to join the Fleet, had eſcaped the general Deſtruction, were anchored beyond the firſt Caſtles, but might very probably be taken by the Ruſſians, before my Arrival; and the Arſenal contained only one old Ship, condemned as unfit for Service. I, however, concurred with the Reis-Effendi, that this Veſſel ſhould be haſtily repaired, provided with Artillery, honoured with the Admiral's Flag, loaded with Planks, Spades, Pickaxes, and other Utenſils, of which I gave a liſt, and

ſet ſail as ſoon as poſſible to meet me at the Dardanelles.

The Captain of a Malteſe Corſair, taken Priſoner many years before, who, by declaring himſelf a knight of Malta, in hopes of better treatment, had only rendered his Ranſom more difficult, was then in Irons. The Comte de Saint-Prieſt was deſirous to take advantage of the preſent Opportunity, and deliver this unhappy Man.

For this end, I pretended I ſhould be under the neceſſity of preparing ſome Fire-ſhips, and wanted Inſtructions on that head; and, in order the better to colour my requeſting this Slave, I extolled his Talents, declaring he was the only Perſon who could give me the Aſſiſtance I wanted, and, at length, ſo far prevailed as to have him ſent with the Veſſel, with the moſt poſitive Aſſurances he ſhould be ſet at liberty, if I found he poſſeſſed the Abilities I ſuppoſed. I was, indeed, very certain I could ſupply him with thoſe he had not; but I could not foreſee, though it nevertheleſs happened, that this man, informed by the Turks of my Expectations from him, could be ſo

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ſtupid as not to conceive my Reaſons, and to deny all I had aſſerted. We ſhall ſoon ſee ſome ridiculous Conſequences from this Scheme, which had no other motive than Charity.

The Grand Seignior's eagerneſs, to be informed of my arrival at the Dardanelles, would not permit me to wait for any of thoſe things which were neceſſary for commencing my operations *(i)*. His Highneſs had given orders that every thing ſhould be under my Directions. I requeſted an Aſſiſtant Commiſſioner, and Muſtapha-Bey, Grandſon of the famous Dganum-Codga, *(k)* was appointed. I immediately hired

(i) The hope of Univerſal Empire was ſo ſoon ſucceeded by the dread of utter Deſtruction that, on the firſt news of the appearance of the Ruſſian Fleet, the whole City was ſunk in Deſpair. Public Prayers were put up for the Succeſs of my endeavours; and the Grand Seignior, whoſe only confidence was in me, could not reſt till my Departure.

(k) Admiral at the time of the Revolution; which, after having dethroned Sultan Achmet, continued to threaten his Succeſſor. The Chief of the Rebels was killed, in the Divan, by this Admiral, whoſe Fortitude and Prudence re-eſtabliſhed good Order.

a French Veſſel, to carry me to the Dardanelles, where I found the Commiſſioner from the Porte had arrived a few hours before me.

The Orders he delivered to Moldovandgi-Pacha, to obey me in whatever I ſhould command, had not much diſpoſed the latter in my favour. I did not imagine I ought to put any great Confidence in the myſterious Covenant of the Bread and Salt, by which, as has been already ſeen, this man had formerly vowed inviolable friendſhip to me; yet his fear to diſobey the poſitive Orders he had received, and the preſence of an Enemy whom he had always found his Superior, made him diſſemble his Diſcontent, and afforded me time to ſooth his Indignation.

This I effected by flattering his Vanity, and we had no apparent diſagreement during my ſtay at the Dardanelles. His peeviſhneſs only ſhewed itſelf in his firſt letters to the Porte; but as his Complaints were unſucceſsful, they were not repeated.

My firſt care was to examine the ſtate of the Caſtles. A view of the Soldiers, appointed

pointed for their defence, was ſufficient to perceive there was no greater reſource to be hoped from Diſcipline and good Order, than from the Condition of the Fortifications. Terror had ſeized on every mind to ſuch a degree that they, openly, talked of abandoning the Batteries, on the firſt diſcharge of the Enemy's Cannon.

The Permanence of the Turkiſh Garriſons, by making each Soldier an eſtabliſhed Citizen, furniſhes him with too many intereſting Objects, which demand his care, for him to devote himſelf entirely to the Defence of the Citadel in which he is ſtationed; his concerns extend beyond the Walls he defends, nor can he be confined by Diſcipline, which, among the Turks, though always ſevere, is never exact.

The ſlighteſt conſideration, of the conſtruction of the Dardanelles, will be ſufficient to make us perceive the reaſon of this Deſertion which threatened us. Walls without mortar, raiſed more than thirty feet above the Batteries, which were level with the Sea, were expected to tumble on

the Cannon and Gunners at the firſt Broadſide of the Ruſſians; ſo that the Turks were in more Danger, from ſuch a Defence, than from the Attack of their Enemies.

An Artillery, formidable in Appearance from the width of its bore, but little to be dreaded, after the firſt Diſcharge, from the ſlowneſs with which theſe enormous Pieces muſt be ſerved, formed the principal Batteries on each ſide of the Channel. The fire of the Caſtles, called the Dardanelles, could reach to the oppoſite ſhore; but ſcarcely to the middle of the Strait, from the two Caſtles erected near its mouth.

This Artillery, all of braſs, without Trunnions or Carriages, laid upon hollowed pieces of wood, with their Breeches ſecured by large ſtones, to prevent their recoil; a number of other pieces, lying in the ſand, together with ſeveral Mortars, ſeemed more like the Ruins of a Siege, than Preparations for a Defence.

Such was the ſtate of the Dardanelles when I arrived; and the Ruſſian Squadron, conſiſting of ſeven ſhips of the Line, two of

of which were three Deckers, and two Frigates, had only to take advantage of the favourable Wind, with which they remained at the mouth of the Strait, to inſure the ſucceſs Admiral Elphinſton had promiſed himſelf, and to oppoſe which the Turks had made no Efforts.

The Strait of the Dardanelles, ſituated fifty leagues to the Weſt of Conſtantinople, between the Archipelago and the little ſea of Marmora, extends from the Coaſt of Troy to Gallipoli over againſt Lampſacus. This ſpace, about twelve leagues, of an unequal breadth, contains different points, in which the Continents of Europe and Aſia, which this Strait ſeparates, approach to within the diſtance of three or four hundred Fathoms. Three leagues from its mouth, on the ſide next the Archipelago, at the narroweſt part of the Strait, have been built the two Caſtles called the Dardanelles; the Cannon of each of which commanded the oppoſite ſhore. Theſe were, for a long time, the only Barrier to ſecure Conſtantinople; but the Turks, becoming more fearful, though not more

enlightened, at length, built two others, near the Mouth; but as they are at the diſtance of fifteen hundred Fathoms, their Fire is uncertain, and their Defence inſufficient.

I have already mentioned the two Turkiſh ſhips of War, which, having been delayed in fitting out, were hindered from joining the Fleet and ſharing in its Deſtruction at Tcheſmai. Theſe Ships were moored between the two Caſtles, but ſo much without the Strait that they might eaſily be taken by the Enemy's ſquadron. My firſt care was to give orders for them to re-enter the Strait, that their Cannon might ſuſtain that of the Caſtle, and command the Entrance; but a farther examination of the Crews and Officers convinced me this was impoſſible for them to perform. The Wind, though favourable, was not ſufficient to change their Situation, which Situation became exceſſively critical the third day after my Arrival.

While I was at the Caſtle, on the European Shore, the Ruſſian Squadron, ſailing in a line from the Gulph of Enos, coaſted along

along the Shore of Europe towards the Headland of the Caſtle, and ſeemed, by this Manœuvre, rather to intend to take the two ſhips, than force the Paſſage; each of which Deſigns was equally eaſy to execute. Thoſe Ships could no more have oppoſed a ſingle Frigate than the Caſtles could the whole Squadron.

The only advantage which remained to us, and the moſt important for us to preſerve, was the Enemy's Ignorance of our Weakneſs. The manner of their Squadron's advancing ſhewed they were fearful of expoſing themſelves to the fire of our heavy Batteries; yet had I nothing to employ againſt them but a ſingle Iron Culverin, which, however, would carry a Ball of ſixty pounds.

This had been placed without the Caſtle, or rather, entirely abandoned by the Turks. It reſted on two pieces of Timber, and was levelled point blank againſt the Squadron. A Cape, about a hundred Fathoms in advance, where were placed ſome Cannon of a ſmaller ſize, prevented this Culverin from being diſcovered by the Ruſſians, till they had

had got through the entrance, and were expoſed to its fire. But as this Headland permitted the Top of the Walls and the houſes near the Fortreſs to be ſeen, the Squadron began its Cannonade; which, though briſk, could do no damage, and would only have ſerved, if any thing could, to accuſtom the Turks to the fire of Artillery; but they ran away on the firſt diſcharge, and it was with difficulty I prevailed on ſeven or eight men to ſtay and ſerve the Culverin, the only means of Defence I had left.

I was ſtill obliged to wait till the Enemy expoſed themſelves to its direction; for this Piece was immoveable; this, however, rendered its firſt diſcharge more certain, which was made on the Frigate of the Vanguard, and immediately drove it a-ſtern; and the ſecond was ſoon ready for the ſhip which followed. The Ruſſians ſtill continued their cannonade over the Cape, and the Fleet tacked about, after having ſent ſeven or eight hundred Balls and Bombs above our heads, ſeveral of which I perceived burſt in the air, and ſome were brought me

which

which had not gone off. This attempt, repeated three days ſucceſſively, in the ſame order, and at the ſame hour, obliging me to occupy this Poſt, hindered me from preparing more eſſential means of defence, and I made uſe of an Expedient which I thought might remove the Enemy from the Coaſt.

On my arrival, in the Evening, at the Dardanelles, I cauſed a ſmall piece of Cannon, taken from the Venetians, to be brought out; and after having heated ſome Bullets red hot, and charged the Piece, I gave the Spectators, who always followed me in Crouds, a ſlight Specimen of red hot Balls. The Pacha and the Turks, who were preſent at this Experiment, thought the Ottoman Empire already avenged for the Deſtruction of its Fleet.

During the night, Grating, Charcoal, and Bellows, were carried to the Batteries at the Cape, which had hitherto been cannonaded by the Ruſſians. But, while the Turks were aſſiduous in the execution of my orders, ſome Greeks were not leſs ſo, to give notice of them, to the Ruſſians; their Fleet

no

no more approached the Coaſt, and they ſeemed only intent on the Siege of Lemnos. The firſt uſe I made of this Ceſſation was to inſure the Safety of the two Ships, which ſeemed to be the Apple of Diſcord. I procured four hundred Jews, notwithſtanding it was their Sabbath, to aſſiſt in towing them out of danger; and, as they were thus removed from the courſe of the Current, a freſh Gale, which aroſe ſome days afterwards, carried theſe veſſels up to the ſecond Caſtles, where their Artillery was more neceſſary.

The Surplus of Waters which the Black Sea receives, and which cannot be evaporated, pouring into the Mediterranean, through the Boſphorus of Thrace and the Propontis, forms, at the Dardanelles, Currents ſo violent, that, frequently, Ships can ſcarcely ſtem them, with all their ſails ſet. Pilots ſhould likewiſe obſerve, when they have a ſufficient Wind, to ſail in ſuch a manner as to preſent the leaſt reſiſtance poſſible to the Force of the Waters. To effect this, it is evident, the direction of the Currents muſt be conſidered; which, driven back

back from one jutting Shore to another, are the grand Obſtacles to the Navigation of the Straits; and expoſe thoſe to great Danger who neglect to allow for their Effects.

This, indeed, was the only kind of Inſtruction I could receive from the Pilots of the two Turkiſh Veſſels; and my Obſervations, on their paſſing up the Straits, ſuggeſted Hints extremely uſeful for their defence. I perceived that a Battery, erected on the Headland called the Barber's Point, to correſpond with another, at a convenient diſtance, on the European Side, would give the Turks the power of raking every Ship which ſhould endeavour to force a Paſſage, while the Ship or Ships could not fire their Broadſides without expoſing the Veſſel's ſide to the Currents, conſequently to be driven back by their Violence; and the ſame ſituation would afford an opportunity to the Turkiſh Artillery, to employ its Bar-ſhot, with great effect, on their Sails, expanded by the briſk Gale, neceſſary to attempt forcing their way, and which, ſoon deſtroyed, would leave them in certain danger of being ſhipwrecked on the Coaſt.

I had

I had likewiſe another powerful Motive for adopting this Syſtem of Defence. Theſe Batteries would command the Anchoring Place of the White Spots *(l)*; and indeed, the whole Space between them and the Dardanelles, and render Conſtantinople entirely ſecure, if the Turks would only ſerve the Artillery I was about to have brought thither in any paſſable manner.

Another Headland, called Mill-Point, nearer the Dardanelles, on the European Shore, ſeemed convenient for conſtructing another Battery, as it might extend its fire to that at Barber's Point, and the Caſtle of Aſia. I alſo determined to erect a fourth on the Banks of the Simois, to cover the Fortreſs which joins to it, and which, for the reaſon I have already mentioned, is not tenable.

(l) A Cove, in the Straits, on the Coaſt of Aſia; between the firſt and ſecond Caſtles. It is the only anchoring Place, where the Enemy could eſtabliſh themſelves, after having forced the Paſſage of the firſt Entrance.

While

While I was employed in making theſe Diſpoſitions, and the neceſſary Orders were iſſuing for aſſembling the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, who were obliged to labour in theſe works, Moldovandgi Pacha, deſirous to acquire ſome notice, projected the rebuilding of the ruined Walls of an Old Genoeſe Caſtle, ſituated on the Heights of a Cape, within Sight of the Archipelago, but ſo lofty, and diſtant, that its Cannon muſt be conſiderably elevated for the balls to reach the Sea. Moldovandgi laid his Plan before me, and though it was both expenſive and uſeleſs, I beſtowed on it many commendations, and yielded to the requeſt of the Pacha that I would climb the Rock and ſee what he had done.

I found, there, two or three hundred Maſons, building on the old Foundations, an uncemented Wall, eighteen inches thick; while, at the ſame time, a great number of Carpenters were conſtructing a Lodgement for the Garriſon, within the Wall. But what I thought moſt remarkable was the haſte of the Pacha to white-waſh his

his new Wall. We may perceive, by this, that he did not wiſh to maſk his Battery. The Enemy might diſcover it at Sea, when ten leagues diſtant, but certainly would not think its appearance very formidable; though this was the only Intention of Moldovandgi. Indeed, the Turks were ſo terrified, that any method of keeping the Enemy at a diſtance appeared preferable to the means of deſtroying them, if they attempted to force a Paſſage, which was nearly impracticable, by the natural Situation of the Straits.

Theſe Conſiderations determined me to conſtruct the Batteries twenty-two feet thick. The Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages were already at work, to raiſe Epaulements of Earth and Faſcines; but they were hardly allowed a few Tents to protect them from the Weather. Government took no care to provide any Subſiſtence for theſe its wretched Slaves, whoſe neglected Harveſts periſhed before their Eyes.

The Baron de Pontécoulant, who had accompanied the Comte de Saint-Prieſt to Conſtantinople, propoſing to return to France,

France, was unwilling to leave the Ottoman Empire in so precarious a Situation, without making me a visit, and observing, on the Spot, the actual state of the Dardanelles. He arrived when my Plan was so far compleated that he might form a Judgement of its Propriety. It was easy for him to perceive the Cowardice, Disorder, and habitual Negligence of the Turks.

The Pacha, only intent on washing white the wretched Walls he had erected, out of the reach of Cannon, thought himself sufficiently obliging in not contradicting me; and the Commissioner, from the Porte, who was ordered to spare no Expences, which I judged necessary, neglected those that might have been useful, and loaded his List with Items, which he thought specious, but for which he paid nothing.

The Manners of the Turks were certainly their most dangerous Enemies, and those which gave me the greatest uneasiness. But, as, in difficult Situations, it is always a fault to neglect making use of the most trifling Means, which may prove serviceable, I endeavoured to turn the arrival of the Baron

de Pontécoulant to my advantage; and, after having informed him of the nature of my Scheme, preſented him to the Pacha, as a Surveyor, ſent by the French Ambaſſador, to examine the State of the Dardanelles, and make a Report to the Grand Seignior; after which he was to ſet out for France, to give the like information to the Emperor my Maſter. M. de Pontécoulant played his part to perfection, and teſtified all that Diſſatisfaction which we agreed he ſhould. Our Stratagem had the good effect of rendering the Pacha more active, and as he thought it became him to ſhew the Baron the greateſt reſpect, when he came to take leave of him, he deſired me to preſent him with a ſmall Sum of money, which, with the Turks, is always the height of Civility. We were by no means of the ſame Opinion, but, as a Refuſal would have led the Pacha to imagine we were determined to do him an Injury at the Porte, and muſt have made him very untractable, I perſuaded M. de Pontécoulant to overcome his repugnance to this kind of Oriental Politeneſs; and his Boatmen, who profited

ſited by the Preſent, found their advantage in French Delicacy.

This Journey, which had no motive but Curioſity, though I had found means to render it ſerviceable to my Deſigns, was, afterwards, the occaſion of great Uneaſineſs to the Grand Seignior. For M. de Pontécoulant, meeting with contrary winds, from the North, was obliged to land on the European ſide, above Gallipoli, and take horſes for Conſtantinople. At the Gate of Andrinople he was ſtopt and examined by the Guards of the Cuſtoms, who, ſurprized to ſee an European, enquired who he was, and whence he came, and, on his anſwering that he was the Beyzadai of France, *(m)* and that he came from the Dardanelles, the Guards, perſuaded it muſt be me, ſuffered him to paſs without further enquiry, and immediately haſtened to inform the Grand Viſir of my return, who directly carried the news to the Grand Seignior.

The Conſternation became general; it was not doubted but that the Dardanelles were

(m) Gentleman of France, by which name I had been a long time called by the Turks.

forced, and his Highneſs inſtantly ſent a perſon, in whom he could confide, to M. de Saint Prieſt, to enquire the particulars; when the Ambaſſador, by explaining the Error, and communicating to the Grand Seignior the obſervations of M. de Pontécoulant, relieved the Emperor and his Miniſters from their Apprehenſions.

I was one evening with Moldovangi-Pacha, near whom I reſided, and who began to place ſome confidence in me, when a Turk preſented himſelf, and claimed the Promiſe he had made him to ſpeak to me in his behalf. Yes, ſaid the Pacha, I muſt recommend this man to your notice; you will find him extremely uſeful, he has a ſurprizing Genius for throwing of Bombs, and a leſſon or two from you will render him amazingly expert. We have ſeen a proof of his Abilities that would have given the greateſt Satisfaction, but for an accident, the cauſe of which we cannot diſcover, for the Mortar burſt, and killed ſeven Perſons on the ſpot.

During this Diſcourſe, I examined my man of Abilities, and perceived, from the form

form of his Turban, that he was a Crier of a Moſque. I congratulated him, on his good fortune, in eſcaping his dangerous Experiment; and queſtioned him concerning the method he uſed. I provided, anſwered he, every thing that was neceſſary; and, though this Misfortune happened to the very firſt Bomb I fired, I am certain I omitted nothing proper to render my Attempt ſucceſsful.

Well, ſaid I, let me know how you proceeded. In the firſt place, replied he, the Mortar being ſet on its Carriage, I pointed it towards the Sea, filled the Chamber with Powder, and rammed it down with Earth, beaten with a Mallet: after which I filled, in like manner, with Powder, a Bomb, of the ſame Caliber.

You ſee, interrupted the Pacha, that he knew very well what he was about. Proceed, ſaid I, to this Favourite.

I placed, continued he, the Bomb in the Mortar, and ſet fire to it. How! cried I, without a Fuſee? You deſerve to have been the firſt who had fallen a Victim to your Ignorance.

And can it be poſſible, then, with ſo great a number of Mortars, intended for the defence of the Caſtles, you do not poſſeſs one ſingle Bombardier, who knows, at leaſt, that Bombs are not to be fired without Fuſees? This proves, though, ſaid the Pacha, that he wants but little to become an able Engineer; and I muſt repeat the requeſt I have already made, that you would give him a few Inſtructions.

Forced to give way, in ſome meaſure, to ſo much abſurdity, I ſent to ſearch for the Keeper of the Magazine; we examined its contents, but could not find even the Materials proper for the Compoſition of Fuſees. The Pacha, however, would take no denial, and deſired I would immediately make an Experiment. I had, aſſuredly, ſo little concern whether I gave him ſatisfaction or not, that it was ſcarcely worth while troubling myſelf about it; but, as much is always to be loſt, by denying ſuch requeſts to ignorant People, I ordered my Carpenter to ſet up a clumſy Lathe, turned a few Fuſees, procured ſome Saltpetre and Sulphur, prepared my Compoſition, and charged ſeveral Fuſees

Fuſees before my Pupil, making him obſerve whatever was requiſite in the Operation.

In the evening the Bombs were thrown, to the great Satisfaction of Moldovangi, who only waited for a like Performance, from his Crier of the Moſque, to give him the poſt of principal Bombardier. But, ſuch was the aukwardneſs of this man, that, after ſeveral days trial, he was not able to charge a Fuſee in ſuch a manner as to be uſeful. Diſcouraged by ſuch fruitleſs Application, though not the leſs deſirous of Glory, he had again recourſe to his Protector; and, exclaiming againſt the difficulty of my method, deſired him to get me to ſhew him ſome way of firing Bombs without Fuſees. But what will appear ſtill more ſurprizing, is, that Moldovangi, the Viſir, who had raiſed the Siege of Kotchim, and afterwards commanded the Ottoman Army, was ſimple enough to make me this Requeſt.

It will be ſeen by this Anecdote, alone, how little capable the Turks were to defend themſelves; and how neceſſary it was

to conceal this weakneſs from the Enemy.

It was not, however, much to be feared the Foe ſhould gain any dangerous Information from the Greeks, though they were known to be Spies; accuſtomed to bend under the yoke of Ottoman Deſpotiſm, and poſſeſſing as little knowledge as the Turks, they looked on whatever appertained to the latter with reſpect. But it was neceſſary to have a watchful eye over the Europeans, and prevent their betraying our ſituation. With this view an Embargo was laid on all Shipping, immediately after the burning of the Fleet. A great number of Veſſels, of all Nations, were detained at the Dardanelles; and the Turks had long ceaſed to navigate the Archipelago (n).

(n) During the whole War, neutral Veſſels only were employed in carrying Corn on the Grand Seignior's account; and the Porte gave the French a preference very profitable to their Merchants, who were ſettled at Conſtantinople. I muſt not omit to mention, in this Note, a Speculation of Commerce, capable of enlightening the Policy of Nations. An Engliſh Veſſel, loaded with Rice, from Carolina, ſailed directly for Conſtantinople, induced by the accounts publiſhed in the Newſpapers. She was conſigned to no one, but ſold her Cargo in the Harbour.

The

The Supplies which I had requeſted from the Porte were arrived, and I expected nothing farther to be ſent, when I perceived a large Saique *(o)*, with all its ſails ſet, coming down the Strait. I obſerved this Veſſel did not endeavour to make the uſual anchoring-place, but continued in the Current, and directed its courſe between the caſtles. I then ſuppoſed it was loaded with Ammunition, but preſently diſcerned it had Grapplings at the Yard-arms; and I imagined that the Porte, recollecting the demand I had made of the Malteſe Slave, to aſſiſt me in building Fireſhips, had, on his diſclaiming any knowledge of the kind, found one to ſupply his place. But I was not a little ſurprized to ſee the Commander hoiſt his Grapplings when ſixty leagues diſtant from any Enemy.

His Veſſel, however, having paſſed the Anchoring-place, a Gun was fired, from

(o) A kind of Turkiſh Veſſel much uſed in the Black Sea, though the manner of its Conſtruction is not proper for any Purpoſe of Navigation; in bad weather they are frequently wrecked, as they are only fit to ſail before the Wind.

each

each ſide, as a ſignal for him to bring to; but he took no notice. I went into the Caſtle of Aſia to obſerve this Incendiary more diſtinctly; a ſecond Gun was fired with Ball, and when I ſaw that he paid no regard to that, or a third, which ſucceeded it, but was ready to paſs us, I determined to fire upon him, ſo as to do as little Damage as poſſible. The Gunner was luckily ſo dexterous as only to carry away a part of his Prow; but the confuſion which this occaſioned in his Ship preſently brought him in; and a Detachment of the Guard, which I ſent on board, to ſecure the Captain, after having moored the Veſſel, conducted to me this zealous Muſſulman.

We muſt form to ourſelves an Image of ignorant Fanaticiſm, devoting itſelf, and imagining that it can, without other aſſiſtance, deſtroy the whole Fleet of the Enemy, to conceive the rage of this Enthuſiaſt, when he perceived himſelf hindered from proceeding, and brought before a Chriſtian for Examination. He conſidered us all as Traitors, who, in league with the Ruſſians, prevented him from avenging the True-

True-believers for their diſgrace at Tcheſmai; he reproached the Turks around me, for ſhewing me ſo much reſpect; all endeavours to ſooth him were in vain: and it was not till the next day that he could be brought to hear reaſon, and was ſufficiently cooled to perceive the Madneſs of his Undertaking.

Notwithſtanding the care which the Commiſſioner from the Porte had taken, to collect the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, who were capable of labour, and employing, beſides, ſeveral Jews, in raiſing the Epaulements of the Batteries, the number of Workmen ſtill remained too ſmall, and not ſufficient to carry on all the Works at once. Thoſe at Barber's Point went forward, though the Plague daily carried off ſeveral of the Labourers *(p)*. Obliged to be conſtantly with them, this malady was not the leaſt inconvenience of my ſituation; but I could not avoid that communication which was neceſſary, and

(p) It has ſometimes deſtroyed twenty in a day, at Barber's Point alone, ſeveral of whom did not live three hours after the firſt Symptoms of the Diſeaſe.

only abſtained from thoſe which were not of uſe to my deſigns; and when any ſtorm ſent the Workmen to ſhelter themſelves under their Tents, I continued in the Rain, and believe I may attribute to this ſingle precaution my having eſcaped the Diſtemper.

I have already obſerved that the Government took no care about the Subſiſtence of the Labourers, for which the latter were not ſparing of their Curſes; and I determined to ſeize this opportunity of procuring their Bleſſings, by loading, every morning, the Boat that carried me, with Water-melons and Bread, which I diſtributed among the Workmen before I appointed them their Work.

A Turk, who dwelt in the European Caſtle, and was one of the Chiefs of the Diſtrict, after having carefully obſerved my manner of Proceeding, and made ſome attempts to tie and place Sauciſſons, requeſted me to give up to him the finiſhing the Battery I had begun at Mill Point, ſituated in his neighbourhood. My Workmen are ready, ſaid he, and I will anſwer for their performing

forming what I undertake, if you will only come ſometimes to ſee how we go on.

The zeal and application of this Turk had diſpoſed me much in his favour, and I willingly accepted his Offer. The next day in the morning the Shore was covered with Carts loaded with Branches of Trees, and the new Engineer appeared holding the hands, and ſhowing the uſe of the whole to the Labourers. Scrupulouſly attached to my methods, my Scholar did not even neglect to regale the poor People he employed at his own expence.

This Battery was one of thoſe beſt executed, and the Commiſſioner of the Porte, aſtoniſhed at the zeal and underſtanding of the Turk, and more amazed, without doubt, at the expence he was at, out of pure Generoſity, wrote an account of it to the Porte, and received orders to commend his Zeal, and preſent him with three hundred Piaſtres as an Indemnification.

The Turk however, being ſent for, after having coldly received the Compliments of the Commiſſioner, concluded by an abſolute refuſal of the Preſent which was offered.

He

He added, he ſhould loſe all the Merit of what he had done if he accepted any Reward; and that it would be too diſgraceful, for the Ottomn Empire, to ſee a Frenchman riſking his Life and Fortune in its defence, while no Turk would contribute towards it, either by his Abilities or his Subſtance.

In ſpite of all Entreaties the Patriot ſtill continued inflexible; the Commiſſioner had not yet recovered from his aſtoniſhment when I arrived, and he was greatly ſurprized to find that I was not as much amazed as himſelf. This, ſaid he, I could not have conceived, pointing at the fifteen heaps of Crowns ranged on the Ground: I could not have believed that any one would have refuſed ſuch a Sum of Money. Nothing indeed is ſo rare as to find a Turk ſcrupulous and delicate in this Particular.

The Troops, intended by the Grand Seignior for the defence of the Strait, arrived from all parts; they compoſed a Body of thirty thouſand Men, of which fifteen thouſand were Aſiatick; and fifteen thouſand from European Turkey. But this Multitude,

tude, of whom what I have before ſaid may give ſome Idea, more capable of producing Confuſion than defending the Batteries, could hardly be kept in order by the Severity of the Pacha, who had no other method of maintaining his Authority but that of diminiſhing the number of the Mutinous, by the frequency of Executions.

Notwithſtanding the inconvenience and embarraſſment we experienced, from the want of Diſcipline among theſe Troops, it was neceſſary to impoſe on the Enemy by the appearance of numerous Forces, and to employ every means to prevent Deſertion, with which we were conſtantly threatened. The Expedient which ſeemed to me moſt likely to prove effectual was to ſeparate them from their reſpective Countries by the Sea, poſting the fifteen thouſand Aſiaticks in Europe, and the fifteen thouſand Europeans in Aſia. By this means the difficulty of eſcaping from the ſeverity with which all Diſorders were puniſhed, rendered them leſs frequent.

But nothing could cure theſe Wretches of their Cowardice; they were not aſhamed, openly, to declare their unwillingneſs to ſerve

ſerve the Batteries. I however laboured to compleat them; and, after having ſurrounded that at Barber's Point with a covered-way, to ſecure it from a Surprize by Land, I went to the Caſtles, where I had prepared every thing for the making of Carriages for the Cannon, of which we were abſolutely deſtitute.

No Boat had now entered the Strait for a long time, when we ſaw one appear, filled with Turks, moſt formidably armed. They brought in ſeven unfortunate Greeks, the Owners of this little Bark. The Turk, who ſeemed to have a command over the reſt, informed the People that he had taken a Ruſſian Prize, and wiſhed to ſpeak to the Pacha. Being directly introduced, he affirmed that his Priſoners were Ruſſian Spies. Sentence of Death was immediately pronounced, but he inſiſted a great deal on the Inſolence of one of theſe pretended Spies, who, being Maſter of the Boat, and finding himſelf attacked, had dared to level his Piece at him; and, in revenge for this Outrage, he requeſted Permiſſion of the Pacha to be his Executioner. While they were diſcuſſing the Grant of this ſtrange

Favour

Favour, I was induſtrious to obtain more exact Information than the Juſtice of the Pacha thought neceſſary, in ſo plain a caſe; and I learned that theſe unfortunate Greeks, Inhabitants of Leſbos, had been out fiſhing, and had committed no other crime but that of reſiſting ſome violence of this Turk, who had watched their motions, to attack them, under the ſpecious pretence that they were Spies; yet their Execution ſo immediately followed their Sentence that I could not prevent it; and derived nothing from my Enquiries but the wretched certainty that I had ſeen the Innocent periſh.

It is plain, from the deſcription of the Caſtles, that the numerous Artillery, which they contain, could be no-way uſeful in the defence of the Strait, unleſs more advantageouſly diſpoſed. The Simois (that celebrated River, which, nevertheleſs, is only a ſmall channel where the rain water forms a Torrent) deſcends from the Mountain, and falls into the Sea, below the Caſtle of Aſia. I thought it proper to erect a Battery, which, ſerving for an Epaulement to the Caſtle, might contain a part of its Ar-

tillery, while the approaches to it were impeded by this Brook. Thus I could cover the ſide of the Caſtle, the Artillery of which commanded the Strait lengthwiſe.

It was, alſo, with this view that the Turks had placed there an enormous Piece of Ordnance, which would carry a Marble Ball of eleven hundred pounds weight. This Piece, caſt in braſs, in the reign of Amurath, was compoſed of two parts, joined together by a ſcrew, where the charge is contained, after the manner of an Engliſh Piſtol. Its Breech reſted againſt a maſſy ſtone-work; and it was placed upon timbers, cut and diſpoſed for that purpoſe, under a ſmall Arch, which ſerved as an Embraſure. I could not make uſe of this enormous Cannon in the outworks; and, as they were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as to prevent its being fired, the Turks murmured at my paying ſo little regard to a piece of Artillery, which, no doubt, had not its equal in the Univerſe.

The Pacha made ſome remonſtrances to me, on that head. He agreed, with me, that the difficulty of charging it would not

allow, in caſe of an Attack, to fire it more than once; but, he urged, this ſingle diſcharge would be ſo deſtructive, and reach ſo far, that no one entertained a doubt but it would be, alone, ſufficient to deſtroy the whole Fleet of the Enemy. It was eaſier for me to give way to this Prejudice than overthrow it, and, without changing my plan of Defence, I could, by cutting through the Epaulement, in the direction of this Piece, allow it room to be fired; but I was willing firſt to judge of its Effect.

The Croud about me trembled at this Propoſal; and the oldeſt among them aſſerted, there was a Tradition, that this Piece, which had never yet been diſcharged, would occaſion ſuch a ſhock as muſt overturn the Caſtle and the City. It was, indeed, poſſible it might ſhake ſome ſtones out of the Wall, but I aſſured them they would not be regretted by the Grand Seignior; and that the direction of this Piece would not allow me to imagine the City would ſuffer by the Exploſion.

Never, certainly, had any Cannon ſo formidable a Reputation. Friends and Ene-

mies were alike to ſuffer from its Fury. A month was now elapſed ſince it was determined to load this Piece of Artillery, which required no leſs than three hundred and thirty pounds weight of Powder; and I ſent to the Head Engineer, to prepare a Priming. All who heard me give this Order immediately diſappeared, to avoid the predicted Danger. The Pacha himſelf was about to retreat, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty I perſuaded him that he ran no riſk, in a ſmall Kioſk, near the corner of the Caſtle; from whence he might, notwithſtanding, obſerve the Effects of the Ball.

Having ſucceeded in this, nothing remained but to inſpire the Engineer with courage; who, though he was the only one who had not fled, ſhewed no great Reſolution in the remonſtrances he made to excite my Pity; I, at laſt, rather ſilenced than animated him, by promiſing to expoſe myſelf to the ſame Danger. I took my ſtation on the ſtone-work, behind the Cannon, and felt a ſhock like that of an Earthquake. At the diſtance of three hundred Fathoms I ſaw the

the Ball divide into three pieces, and theſe Fragments of a Rock croſſed the Strait, rebounded from the Water to the oppoſite Mountain, and left the ſurface of the Sea all in a foam through the whole breadth of the Channel. This experiment, while it diſſipated the chimerical Fears of the People, the Pacha, and the Engineers, proved to me likewiſe the terrible Effects of ſuch a Ball; and I cut through the Epaulement in the direction of the Piece.

This Battery, which covered the Caſtle, was intended to contain a part of the heavy Artillery, in repairing the Carriages of which I had been employed ever ſince my arrival at the Dardanelles, with the aſſiſtance of a French Carpenter, whom I had brought on ſhore for that purpoſe, and whoſe abilities I found extremely uſeful.

Among the number of Pieces, which were to be employed in theſe Batteries, was an enormous Culverin, carrying a Ball of ſixty pounds. This was ſo confined by the Arch, which ſerved for an Embraſure, that it's ſituation, and it's great weight together, rendered all the means com-

monly employed to remove theſe Pieces ineffectual. I ſent to borrow, from the Men-of-War, the Apparatus which I judged neceſſary; but the Shipping of the Grand Seignior was ſo ill ſupplied that my application was to no purpoſe; and I could not refrain from cenſuring Haſſan-Pacha, who was then only Captain of the Admiral's Flag-Ship.

This Man, whom we have ſince ſeen diſtinguiſh himſelf ſo much by his raſh Courage, proved to me, on this occaſion, that he thought, a reſolution to overcome any difficulty would ſupply the place of that knowledge which can only be acquired by profound Study. What would you do, ſaid he, with your Cordage and Blocks? What ſignify theſe Inventions, when we have ſo many hands at command? Shew me what you wiſh to have removed, and leave the reſt to me.

How! ſaid I; would you carry, by ſtrength of arm, a Piece of Ordnance which weighs more than ſeven thouſand pounds? How many men would you employ? Five hundred, if neceſſary, replied he haſtily.

What

What ſignifies the number, provided we do it? I find, ſaid I, to the Pacha, who was preſent at this ſingular Diſcuſſion, that the Brave Haſſan eſteems nothing an impoſſibility. Let us ſee where his five hundred men will place their hands.

While Haſſan collected his Inſtruments, and we prepared to go and form a judgment of the manner in which he would employ them, I ſent my Carpenter to procure, from on board a French veſſel, ſix Sailors, with the Cords and braſs Pulleys for which I had in vain applied to the Turkiſh Admiral.

Being arrived, with the Pacha, at the Culverin, we ſoon ſaw Haſſan coming, with his ſturdy Companions: but the firſt thirty who attempted to move the Piece, being, as many as could ſtand round it, reduced their Comrades to be mere Spectators of their fruitleſs endeavours. This trial was renewed by others, with efforts equally ineffectual.

Haſſan was vexed at the ill ſucceſs of his attempt, and confeſſed himſelf vanquiſhed; when the ſix Sailors I had requeſted arrived with the neceſſary Tackle, and in

leſs than a quarter of an hour the Piece was laid upon the Platform.

It was ſtill to be placed on its Carriage, when Haſſan, not thinking my ſix Sailors ſufficient for ſuch an Undertaking, offered me again the aſſiſtance of his Attendants. For what purpoſe? ſaid I; four of my People will be ſufficient. I immediately ſent for a Gin that I had cauſed to be made, the uſe of which Machine was unknown to the Turks. Nothing could ſurpaſs their aſtoniſhment when they ſaw this prodigious Weight raiſed, with eaſe, by the ſtrength of only four Men; and this, though not very remarkable in itſelf, had a great effect on Haſſan and his Companions.

It has been already ſaid, that the Ruſſian Squadron, removing out of the reach of my red hot Balls, was gone to the Siege of Lemnos; yet few nights paſt in which Terror, that always ſees what it fears, did not occaſion ſome Alarm; and as ſoon as the Cannon of the firſt Caſtles, which poured forth their Balls on every Phantom the Guards imagined they ſaw, were heard,

thoſe

thoſe of the Dardanelles thought the Enemy already under their Batteries. The Confuſion produced by ſuch Panics ſufficiently ſhewed what was to be expected from real Danger. In order, therefore, to cure the Turks of this habit of groundleſs Terror, and enable them to ſee before they feared the Enemy, I prepared Fire-balls to be thrown on the firſt Alarm. This Expedient ſucceeded beyond my Expectations; and the means of ſuddenly caſting ſo great a Light towards the Enemy, made the Turks imagine, that, as they could now ſee without being ſeen, Night itſelf was rendered more favourable to them than to their Aſſailants.

The Works were finiſhed, the Artillery placed, the Magazines ſtored, and nothing remained but to cauſe the Batteries to be manned. Before this could be done it was neceſſary to prove, to the Satisfaction of all about me, that Epaulements, twenty-two feet in thickneſs, would better ſecure thoſe who were employed to defend them than uncemented Walls, which might be thrown down by the firſt Volley.

This

This latter Prejudice was eſtabliſhed, and I was certain that the Troops, intended to defend the Batteries, would only repair to them to preſerve an appearance of Obedience, but with a reſolution to abandon them the moment the Enemy came in Sight. I therefore reſolved on an Expedient which would have been ridiculous, in the higheſt degree, had it not been the only one which could ſhew them their Ignorance.

I appointed ten in the Morning for a proof of the Batteries, and went, alone, to that of Barber's Point, while Gunners were employed, at the oppoſite one, to point the Artillery at the Epaulement which covered me, and play on it the moment the Boat that carried me was in ſafety.

The Multitude ran with great eagerneſs to this new Exhibition, and the Balls, which were thirty-ſix pounders, burying themſelves in the Epaulement, behind which I ſtood, without doing it any damage, convinced the Turks they might take my place without Danger. They, however, gave a very manifeſt Preference

to

to the Battery which had been proved; but were, at length, ſatisfied there was no difference between that and the others.

The diſpoſition of the Works, from the Mouth of the Straits to Nagara Point, where the laſt Batteries were erected, oppoſed to the Enemy an interſecting and continued fire for the entire ſpace of ſeven Leagues; and it might be preſumed, that, as the Ruſſians had never attempted to force a Paſſage while the Straits were without Defence, they had now given up the Project. I likewiſe perceived that my Preſence, at Conſtantinople, would be more uſeful than at the Dardanelles, in defending the Caſtle, if I could bring to perfection the conſtruction of Carriages, and the ſchool of Artillery, two Objects, at once, equally intereſting, and equally neglected.

As more than ſixty European Veſſels were detained in the little Road of Nagara, I eaſily hired a French Ship, in which I embarked, and which brought me to within ſix Leagues of Conſtantinople, where the Wind became contrary; but I had too much impatience, to continue my Operations,

tions, to yield to this difficulty, and having procured a Greek Boat, manned by four Rowers, I proceeded to Conſtantinople.

My firſt care was to repreſent to the Government that, if the Capital had nothing to fear from the appearance of the Ruſſian Fleet, it was no leſs neceſſary to inſure its Tranquillity, by hindering any Invaſion which the Enemy might effect in the Gulph of Enos. No Meaſures had indeed been taken to guard that Coaſt; and though ſuch Incurſions could have no other Object than the plundering of ſome Villages, ſuch was the diſpoſition of the Populace, that the news of the landing of two hundred men, which number would be continually magnifying till it reached the Capital, would have produced the greateſt Confuſion.

Having made theſe repreſentations to the Grand Seignior, his Highneſs advanced his Selictar to the Dignity of a Pacha with three Tails, and the title of Seraſker of that Coaſt. But I ſoon learned, that this man, having repaired to his Poſt, had only a few Dependents about him, more likely to oppreſs

preſs than defend the Inhabitants: and when I remarked, to the Viſir, the danger of relying on a General who had no Troops, So much the worſe for him, replied he, coldly. He is ordered to defend the Coaſt, and if the Enemy lands, his Head muſt anſwer for it. When ſuch ſecurity appears ſufficient to any State, nothing, certainly, can preſerve it from the Calamities of War but the negligence of its Enemies.

It was to this, only, that the Porte was indebted for the firſt ſucceſſes of Haſſan. This Turk, whom, as we have ſeen, I had left at the Dardanelles, where he made but little account of the Mechanic Powers, had conceived the deſign of going, with four thouſand Volunteers, in little Boats, without any Artillery, to diſembark at Lemnos, raiſe the Siege, and drive away the Ruſſian Fleet.

This project appeared to me ridiculous, and certainly could not be juſtified, but by preſuming, that no Frigate of Obſervation would be near, to ſink the Adventurers; that their landing would be effected with ſo much ſecrecy that no intimation of it

ſhould

ſhould reach the Troops employed in the ſiege; that they, ſurpriſed by Haſſan, ſhould immediately betake themſelves to a ſhameful Flight, toward the Port of Saint Anthony; that, when purſued to the ſhore, the ſight of their Squadron, inſtead of encouraging them to turn on their Purſuers, ſhould only invite them to take Refuge on board; and that, after having embarked, in the utmoſt confuſion, Haſſan, and his Companions, ſword in hand, ſhould ſee ſeven Ships of the Line weigh anchor with the utmoſt precipitation.

I could not help oppoſing this Scheme; but after having diſcourſed on it with the Viſir, he coolly replied, I clearly perceive the Ridiculouſneſs of what Haſſan propoſes, but there will be four thouſand Raſcals leſs in the World, and that is equivalent to a Victory. On this conſideration he was permitted to attempt the Execution of his Project, and with ſuch inſufficient Means did the fortunate Haſſan perform what ſeemed an Impoſſibility (U).

I had ſecretly gained admiſſion to the Grand Seignior, to make that Prince ſee the

the neceſſity of providing the Artillery of the Dardanelles with better Carriages, and more expert Gunners. The deſtruction, or, at leaſt, the entire diſperſion, of the Turkiſh Army, by the Action at Craool, had already induced his Highneſs to imagine, that the quick Fire of the Ruſſian Artillery was the principal cauſe of the diſcouragement of his Troops. He enquired whether I could train Gunners in this Exerciſe, till then unknown among the Turks *(q)*, and on my anſwer, commanded the Viſir and the reſt of his Miniſters to confer with me on the ſubject, and give me every aſſiſtance which I thought neceſſary.

If, in the moment of Diſtreſs, to which Conſtantinople was reduced, by the burning of the Fleet, the Turkiſh Miniſters were not diſpleaſed to ſee me accept a Commiſſion, which, though it proved a confidence on the part of the Grand Seignior,

(q) Their Artillery was ſo badly ſerved, that, in the Journal ſent home of a Siege, they had made it a kind of boaſt, that after having paſt the whole night in charging their Cannon, they had, in the morning, begun a moſt helliſh Fire.

did

did not excite their Jealouſy, they could not ſee, with the like unconcern, the ſame confidence extend itſelf to matters, the management of which was equally advantageous to their own rapacity, and that of their Favourites. Sultan Muſtapha, however, was too abſolute for them to dare put in force againſt me that fanatical Law, or rather abſurd Cuſtom, which forbids the True Believers accepting the ſervices of a Chriſtian. Beſides, the firſt ſtep was already taken, and the Miniſters, who began to be jealous of me, only required me to act under a kind of Diſguiſe. But though the name of the Grand Seignior was made uſe of, to induce me to take the habit of an Interpreter, under the ſpecious pretext, that the Populace would be diſpleaſed to ſee an European employed in affairs which had never been entruſted but to Muſſulmen, I could not be perſuaded either that the Grand Seignior thought this ridiculous Precaution neceſſary, or that the People, after having ſeen me command at the Dardanelles, would be diſpleaſed at my ſuperintending Operations

tions, in appearance, of much leſs importance.

I nevertheleſs thought it was beſt to give way for a moment to this mean Jealouſy of the Miniſters. I knew their weak ſide; the Grand Seignior was deſirous to employ me; he was violent in all his Deſires, and his Miniſters dreaded both his Impatience, and the opinion he entertained of their Incapacity. They feared, likewiſe, that I ſhould take advantage of my influence over him, to effect ſome change; but though this fear juſtified their wiſh to remove me from the Sovereign, as it only threatened an eventual Danger, I knew it muſt always cede to the more preſſing one of diſpleaſing their Maſter.

Thus armed, with the power of turning my Artillery upon themſelves, I went to the Porte, aſſuming the grave Demeanor proper for my new Dreſs, and heard, in a reſerved manner, the different Propoſals which the Viſir was impowered to make. The Grand Seignior wiſhed me to teach, firſt, the art of Quick-firing; and I perceived, by the preſſing ſolicitations of the

Viſir, that the Emperor had not left to him the choice of the means I was to employ.

As, in the conference which we held the next day, on the ſame ſubject, I ſtill continued to affect an Indifference and Inactivity, not natural to me, the Viſir enquired, with ſome Eagerneſs, whether I was diſſatisfied, or had met with any thing which had diminiſhed my Zeal for their Service. No, ſaid I; I only experience the natural Effect of the Dreſs I have been obliged to aſſume: it induces Indolence. I already feel a kind of Apathy, which it no doubt cauſes, come over me; and if you perſiſt in obliging me to wear it, I ſhall ſoon be on a level with every thing about you. You ſuppoſe then, ſaid the Firſt Miniſter, laughing, that our habit impedes our activity; poſſibly it may; but as your induſtry is known to the Grand Seignior, who wiſhes to profit by it, and will lay the blame on us, if he finds it leſſened, dreſs yourſelf more commodiouſly, inform us what you want, and be as diligent as poſſible in preparing your firſt Experiment of Quick-firing, at which the Grand Seignior deſires to be preſent.

The

The Porte ſent me, the next morning, an Officer of the Artillery, in his habit of ceremony, who had orders to accompany me every where, precede me with his ſtaff in his hand, guard me, and procure me free admiſſion into the Founderies, the Arſenals, and every other Place I might have occaſion to viſit.

I luckily found two Four-pounders, which had been taken from the Ruſſians, in the War preceding the Treaty of Belgrade; but it was requiſite to mount and complete them; and the neceſſity of inſtructing the Workmen, in this new buſineſs, was the more difficult and diſagreeable as the Plague, which that Year carried off a hundred and fifty thouſand Perſons, in Conſtantinople, was then at its height. Obliged to direct the Workmen myſelf, many of whom were attacked by the Diſtemper, I had nothing to defend me from it, but the ſalubrious ſmell of the Forges, and the precaution of giving directions with the end of my Cane. But, perhaps, what moſt preſerved me from the Infection was never giving myſelf up to Fear,

and the melancholy Ideas its Ravages preſent.

The Jews, who profit by each branch of Induſtry, which is neglected or deſpiſed, are, at Conſtantinople, in poſſeſſion of every kind of manufacture in which Briſtles are employed. I therefore made uſe of their aſſiſtance in the fabrication of my Rammers. I carried on my operations too publickly for the leaſt of them to remain unknown; but I was not aware of the ſcandal ſome of them might occaſion.

It had been ſignified to me that the Grand Seignior would be preſent at the firſt leſſons of the Detachment of fifty Turkiſh Gunners who were become my Pupils. At the ſame time, the Viſir, informed that my ſmall Artillery was ready, ordered his Tents to be ſet up at Kiathana, where I gave my Inſtructions; and I then learned, that, inſtead of a Viſit from the Grand Seignior, I was only to be favoured with one from his Miniſters; and, early in the morning, I repaired to the place appointed, in order to receive this courtly Company. The General of the Artillery was there before me, and

and cauſed me to be ſaluted on my arrival. He was, no doubt, deſirous, by this Politeneſs, which I did not miſtruſt, to conceal the ſmall trick he intended to play me, and which I could not foreſee.

The cuſtomary Order, obſerved by the Miniſters of the Porte, required the attendance of all the Subalterns, in the Train of the Grand Viſir. I began to ſuſpect ſome miſchief when I perceived the Grand Treaſurer appear the firſt. I advanced to meet him. Where are the Pieces which you have got ready, ſaid he, with a myſterious air? There they are, anſwered I; in the midſt of the Croud, which is gathered round them: for upwards of ten thouſand Perſons had aſſembled, to be Spectators of this *new* method of firing Cannon; and it was with much difficulty that we got thro' the Multitude, which is not very reſpectful, and never gives way but to Violence.

The firſt Obſervation of the Treaſurer gave me to underſtand in what manner they intended to moleſt me. What is that, ſaid he, pointing to one of the Rammers, furniſhed with a Bruſh to ſerve for a Spunge?

I pretended not to perceive the drift of this Queſtion. It is a Rammer, replied I. Yes; but I aſk what that is which is round it?

THE BARON.

It is the Spunge.

THE TREASURER.

That is not what I mean. You ſeem to have forgotten the Turkiſh Language. What is this Bruſh made of?

THE BARON.

Perhaps I may have miſtaken you; but I ſhould ſuppoſe you can ſee it is made of Hair.

THE TREASURER.

That too I ſee, plainly enough; but I wiſh to know what ſort of Hair?

THE BARON.

Hog's Briſtles; ſince I muſt tell you the name, which is the only thing proper for the purpoſe.

THE TREASURER.

And preciſely that which we may not make uſe of.

THE

THE BARON.

But it is what you muſt make uſe of; or, if the Fetfa of the Mufti be neceſſary, I will engage to obtain it for you.

Here the Croud about us, who had long appeared diſſatisfied, broke out into a general Exclamation of *God forbid.* The High Treaſurer turned pale, and taking me by the arm, For God's ſake, ſaid he, trembling, do not pronounce the name of the Mufti; we ſhall be torn in pieces. But I was ſo enraged, at ſuch a number of abſurdities, that, without regarding this advice, I ſaid, raiſing my voice, What ſignifies this ridiculous contention about a few Hog's briſtles, when all your Moſques are full of them?

This laſt expreſſion, for which I had my reaſons, increaſed ſtill more the agitation of the People, and the Terror of the High Treaſurer, who, now, expected Murder to enſue. But I immediately mounted on the Carriage of a Cannon, and, looking on the Multitude, whoſe fanatic Murmurs were now grown very loud and violent, pronounced the word Silence, with a firmneſs

that aſtoniſhed the Croud, and ſeemed to have given me a right to impoſe it.

Taking advantage, therefore, of the momentary calm, produced by their ſurprize, Is there, ſaid I, any Painter among you? If there be, let him come forward to decide this diſpute. Whereupon, a venerable old Man, raiſing his voice, I, ſaid he, am a Painter, what is your Deſire? I wiſh, anſwered I, if you are a good Muſſulman, that you would tell us the Truth, and anſwer the Queſtions which I ſhall aſk you.

During this ſcene, the High Treaſurer, whom I had equally aſtoniſhed, had recovered a little from his Fears, and, ſuſpecting I intended to make uſe of the Painter to get clear of this Perplexity, cauſed him to come forward, and ordered him to be very exact in his Replies.

THE BARON.

Have you ever painted the Inſide of any Moſque?

THE PAINTER.

Of ſeveral; and thoſe very conſiderable ones.

THE

THE BARON.

And what Inſtruments did you make uſe of?

THE PAINTER.

Many different Colours.

THE BARON.

Remember you are a Muſſulman, and ſhould reverence the Truth. Why do you prevaricate? Colours are not the Inſtruments; they are the Means. You make uſe of Bruſhes: of what are the large ones made?

THE PAINTER.

They are of white Hair; we buy them ready made, and never prepare them ourſelves.

THE BARON.

You know however from what Animal the Hair is procured; that is what I wiſh to be told.

THE TREASURER.

Yes; you muſt declare the Truth: it is of conſequence it ſhould be known.

THE PAINTER [*raiſing his voice*].

In that caſe, I muſt ſay, that all our Bruſhes are made of Briſtles.

THE BARON.

Very well; but this is not all. What becomes of the Hair, after you have made uſe of your Bruſhes, and the Moſque is finiſhed? What do you bring home?

THE PAINTER.

I certainly bring home nothing but the Handles; the Hair remains on the Wall.

THE BARON.

If, then, Briſtles do not defile your Moſques, it cannot, ſurely, be improper to make uſe of them againſt your Enemies.

The exclamation, Praiſe be to God! was the Anſwer which the people returned, unanimouſly; and the High Treaſurer, elated with Joy, which was the more lively as it ſucceeded to Fear, immediately threw off his ſuperb Peliſſe, furred with Martin-ſkin, from Siberia, and ſeizing on one of the Rammers, and applying it to the mouth of the Piece, Come, my friends, cried he, let

let us make uſe of this new Invention for the Safety and Glory of the True-Believers.

The ridiculous concluſion of this Scene was certainly worthy its Origin. The Treaſurer was ſatisfied, and the People enraptured; but this Proof of their Common Folly would have determined me to give them up, had not theſe Difficulties been to me a kind of Spur, which I found it impoſſible to reſiſt.

What had paſſed being related to the Viſir, and the other Miniſters, at their arrival, diſpoſed them to give their applauſe, more readily, to the alertneſs of the Gunners, who, however, could not, in this firſt Eſſay, fire oftener than five times in a Minute; yet this was a great deal for the Turks; and it might be preſumed that younger men than thoſe who had been ſent me might, after a little Practice, attain to the deſired Perfection; and ſeveral of the Turks, who were Spectators, offered to enliſt.

But every body found fault with the bent Rammers, and imagined that, by ſimple-

ſimplefying this Inſtrument, the celerity of uſing it might be increaſed. This popular Remark had already reached the Tent of the Viſir when I went to him. My little Company followed me, and the High Treaſurer, always in haſte to give his opinion, adviſed the uſe of the ſtrait Rammer, as the readieſt and beſt. I oppoſed this Propoſal, by ſhewing the danger to which it muſt expoſe the Gunners. Pſhaw, ſaid he, with an air of Gaiety, what ſignify a few Gunners, more, or leſs, provided the Grand Seignior be but well ſerved?

This Expreſſion appeared to me ſo ſhameful, and the opportunity of revenging myſelf on this Miniſter and gaining the good will of the People ſo favourable, that, raiſing my Voice ſo as to be heard by the Gunners, without the Tent, I anſwered, As I could not ſeparate the true Intereſt of the Grand Seignior from the Preſervation of his Subjects, I ſhould never allow myſelf to treat them ſo lightly, and that I would rather renounce the honor of ſerving

ing him than have occaſion to reproach myſelf with the ſmalleſt Accident.

This ſhort Harangue excited a ſudden Murmur among the Gunners, and the Croud behind them; nor could the Viſir himſelf with-hold his Applauſe. When I went out to repeat the Exerciſe, the Gunners, ſtill warm with what they had heard, preſſed upon me, raiſed me from the Ground, and returned God Thanks for my Anſwer; ſaying frequently, and loudly, Ah! what ſignify a few High Treaſurers, more, or leſs, provided the Grand Seignior be but well ſerved.

Our repetition of the Exerciſe was ſcarcely finiſhed, when I received notice that the Viſir wiſhed to ſpeak with me. You have performed ſo well, ſaid he, that there can be no doubt of your Succeſs, when all the neceſſary Meaſures are taken, and for which we will obtain the Orders of the Grand Seignior. But, as it is cuſtomary for our Offices to be ſhut, when we are abſent from the Porte, and as theſe Excurſions are, beſides a kind of Recreation we rarely enjoy, and are willing to prolong, I have

have to requeſt you would make theſe Gunners fire at a Mark. You may remain with us the mean-time; we will converſe, and ſhall find it very amuſing.

A Butt, which I had raiſed, in front of the Viſir's Tent, had, probably, ſuggeſted this Thought. In vain did I object, the Pieces were too ſhort, and unfit for the purpoſe, and that no Ball would hit the Mark, where, beſides, there was only a ſingle Piquet to determine the Centre. That does not matter, replied he, they will make a Report, and that will be ſufficient.

Accordingly the Pieces were drawn before the Tent of the Viſir, where we amuſed ourſelves with obſerving the Balls; which, as I had foreſeen, flew ſometimes to the right, and ſometimes to the left of the Butt.

During this, which was ſufficient amuſement for the Miniſters of a great Empire, the Treaſurer, ever ready to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and who had kept continually blaming the awkwardneſs of the Gunners, informed us he would make a Trial himſelf. Immediately he riſes, takes off his

Peliſſe, tucks up his Cloaths, goes to a Piece, and, with the aſſiſtance of one of his Servants, endeavours to point it carefully.

As I was deſirous to examine his operations more narrowly, and find ſome new opportunity of puniſhing him for the Adventure of the morning, I advanced, and made a ſign to the principal Gunner to give him the Match, that I might be diverted with his fear to make uſe of it. His hand ſhook ſo much he could not guide it to the Powder. How! ſaid I, do you talk of giving us Leſſons and are you afraid? I then ſeized his hand, and forced him to touch the Priming; but he had pointed the Piece ſo high, that it was impoſſible to obſerve the direction of the Ball.

You are as unſkilful as the reſt, ſaid the Viſir, as we re-entered the Tent; and it is plain that nobody but Tott can give us any inſtructions. Then turning to me, you ought, however, continued he, to ſhew the Treaſurer how to hit the Mark. I ſhould be equally unſucceſsful, replied I. While he continued to requeſt, and I endeavoured

deavoured to evade an Experiment which might make them imagine I knew no more than they, the firſt French Interpreter, who had accompanied me to Kiathana, ſaid to me, in French; Why do you not make the attempt? Perhaps you may hit it.

The Viſir, perceiving by his geſtures he perſuaded me to comply with the requeſt, redoubled his ſolicitations, and at length prevailed on me to point the Piece. So certain was I it was only loſing a Ball, that I was at very little pains in taking aim. My alertneſs, however, was admired, the Gunner prepared the Linſtock, all eyes were attentive, and I made my Diſcharge.

I was by no means leſs ſurprized than thoſe around me to ſee the Bullet hit the Piquet in the center of the Butt. The cry *Machalla (r)* reſounded on all Sides. The firſt Interpreter applauded himſelf for his Prophecy, and the Viſir, whom I endeavoured to perſuade it was a mere matter of Chance, ſaid, with the ſmile of one who

(r) Machalla (What God has done) An Expreſſion of the greateſt admiration.

thinks

thinks he has diſcovered what is wiſhed to be concealed, Yes, Yes; it is mere Chance; but this Experiment is ſufficient; we require no more, and make no doubt but you will be always favoured by Chance in the ſame manner. I vainly endeavoured to remove this ridiculous Prejudice; but every thing, in this day's buſineſs, ſeemed deſtined to expoſe the Ignorance of the Turks. I however had ſurmounted the Difficulties thrown in my way, and gained the good will of the Multitude.

The Grand Seignior, having received an account of our firſt Experiments, immediately gave Orders to provide the Army with ſome of theſe able Gunners, and every thing neceſſary for this *new Invention*. The Spirit of this Order was plain enough, but the Letter only was obeyed. Several Bales of Engliſh Shalloon, intended to make twenty thouſand Cartridges, furniſhed thoſe who had the inſpection of this buſineſs with excellent Summer-cloathing. Fifty Four-pounders, badly caſt, but provided with new Rammers, were embarked without Carriages, becauſe they were not men-

tioned in the Order. Fifty Gunners were directed to accompany them to Varna, where they were to leave them, buried in the Sand, on the Shore, for want of means to tranſport them; and all this was the effect of the punctuality of the Grand Seignior's Miniſters.

That Prince was ſoon informed of the little Succeſs of all the care he had taken; and the Viſir, who commanded the Army, having repreſented to his Highneſs the neceſſity of providing it with Pontoons and Perſons able to make uſe of them (an Invention till then unknown to the Turks) Sultan Muſtapha appointed me to provide them, and ordered that every thing relative thereto ſhould be left entirely to my Directions.

As that Prince was convinced, by long experience, of the miſapplication of Money, intended for uſeful Expences, he ordered the Treaſury to reckon with me, alone, for the Sums neceſſary for the Buſineſs in which I was engaged. You may take up what money you think proper, ſaid the Viſir, it will be paid to your receipt; and

and this proof of the Emperor's confidence in you is the more flattering, as he grants it to none of us.

I am very ſenſible of the Honor done me, replied I, but cannot prevail on myſelf to make uſe of this Privilege: ever zealous for the Service of his Highneſs, I will refuſe him nothing but the handling of his Money.

The Tefterdar, and the Reis-Effendi, who were invited to the Conference I had with the firſt Miniſter, relative to the Fabrication of Pontoons, joined in preſſing me to take this Buſineſs entirely on myſelf; but I perſiſted to require the nomination of ſome Perſon, who could be confided in, and who might be accountble. A Man to be confided in! replied the Viſir, briſkly; where are we to find him? For my part, I know of no ſuch Perſon. Do you? continued he, addreſſing himſelf to the High Treaſurer. No, my Lord, replied he. The Viſir then turning to the Reis-Effendi, Or do you, ſaid he, know of any ſuch? Not I, indeed,

anſwered he, laughing. I know none but Knaves.

You ſee, ſaid the Firſt Miniſter, the thing you requeſt is impoſſible; and we have but one Remedy; it is only by cutting off a number of heads that the Diſorder can be removed.

I was the more offended at all this, as theſe Judges, ſo ſevere againſt the Crimes of others, were, themſelves, the cauſe of them; and could not refrain from proving it, by quoting a recent Example. I know, ſaid I, to the Viſir, that your Highneſs is the Depoſitary of Sovereign Authority; but, ſince this Authority is derived from God, you can only uſe it conſiſtent with Juſtice.

Do you then, ſaid he, believe it to be unjuſt to puniſh Robbers? I do, replied I, when their Robberies are authoriſed: they then ceaſe to be puniſhable. What Right, for example, can you have to puniſh the Extortions of the Inſpector of the Frontiers, whom you ſent away laſt week, with Orders to examine and certify the State of the different Places? His nomi-

nation

nation coſt him twenty Purſes; his Expences will amount to as many more; and yet he receives no pay. Is not this giving a tacit Conſent to the hope he entertains of reimburſing himſelf doubly? And would it be juſt to examine into the Abuſes which reſult from this Practice? *(s)* Sultan Soliman, of glorious Memory, added I, by eſtabliſhing Superintendants over every Branch of Adminiſtration, and aſſigning them appointments proportionable to their Employs, preſerved to himſelf the Right of puniſhing their Offences. To ſuppreſs lawful Emoluments is to authoriſe Rapine, which muſt ſupply their Place. Pay the Treaſurer I requeſt from you, and I will anſwer for his Honeſty.

During this Harangue my Auditors looked on each other; and the Viſir, far from making any objection, ſaid to his

(s) It was from an Inſpection of this kind, that, during the negociation at Belgrade, the Porte aſſured M. de Villeneuve that the Fortreſs of Oczakow was perfectly well provided, though it was taken a ſhort time after, for want of the Ammunition neceſſary for its Defence.

Colleagues, I did not think he had known us ſo well. At length it was determined that, ſince I would have a Paymaſter, it ſhould be propoſed to the Grand Seignior to nominate Shamlu-Huſſein-Effendi to that office. A Salary ſhall be allowed him, added the Viſir, laughing; but we would not adviſe you, on that account, to anſwer for his Conduct.

The Grand Seignior was too impatient to ſee me employed, in making the Pontoons, to ſuffer a long interruption for want of the New Intendant; and Shamlu-Huſſein, who had accompanied the laſt Turkiſh Ambaſſador into France, ſoon made me perceive he had not been choſen by the Viſir to diminiſh the Expences which my Undertakings might occaſion.

My Workſhop was at the Arſenal, and, while I overlooked the Boat-builders, the Copperſmiths who had orders to prepare the plates of Copper, daily brought me Specimens, which rather proved a want of Honeſty than Ability. The manner in which they can work in Copper is, indeed, ſo well known that, not ſuſpecting the true

true Reaſon, I perſiſted to require from them what I knew they could produce, until theſe poor fellows, reduced to Deſpair, and not daring to explain themſelves before the Intendant, determined, privately, to implore my Commiſeration, and thus avoid the Oppreſſion with which they were threatened.

The Chief of this Company, being deputed to wait on me, confeſſed that their want of Skill was merely pretended. You have already, ſaid he, diſcovered one part of our Secret, and I am come to entruſt you with the other. The Porte obliges us to accept the ſtated price of the Miry. *(t)* We ſhall be ruined if you employ us; and ſeverely puniſhed if you complain. Our Fate depends upon you.

My Situation was now embarraſſing, but I did not heſitate to relieve them from their fears: pretending that the Pontoons

(t) The Miry, or Treaſury, among the Turks, has adopted the cruel, and far from œconomical, Practice of forcing thoſe who work for the Public to accept ſo low a price that both Buyer and Seller are equally Sufferers.

would be the better for being lighter, I, the next Day, declared my Intention to cover them with leather. This would certainly expoſe the Tanners to that Oppreſſion from which I had delivered the Copperſmiths; but the cheapneſs of this laſt Material rendered it leſs heavy.

A Company of Janiſſaries, only employed in working the Engines, and who were quartered within the Arſenal, afforded me a large number of Workmen, accuſtomed, by the making of Leather Tubes, to the work requiſite for ſewing and preparing the Caſing of the Pontoons. The Commander of this Company had orders to give me every aſſiſtance; this was to him a very profitable employment, and he gave me many proofs of his zeal and good-will.

I was entirely employed in this buſineſs, and the Grand Seignior preſſed me to throw ſome Pontoons over the River Kiathana *(u)*, in order to try if this kind of Bridge, againſt

(u) A Paper Mill, which formerly ſtood on this River, has given its name to it, as well as to the Meadow through which it runs. The Mouth of this ſmall River is at the bottom of the Harbour of Con-

againſt which Ignorance continually raiſed a thouſand Objections, was really ſufficient for the Tranſportation of Artillery. I went every day to the Arſenal, and one morning, paſſing over a dangerous frozen place, in ſpite of all my precautions, got a fall, and ſprained my left Leg.

I at firſt felt only a violent numbneſs, and, with the aſſiſtance of my Servant, continued my way, but ſoon experienced ſuch extreme Pain that I could hardly reach the Quarters of the Janiſſaries, who had the care of the Engines, by a gate of their Garden, which I luckily found open.

Conſtantinople; it is alſo called the Freſh Waters, and is principally remarkable for the Palace built near it, by Sultan Achmet, at about three quarters of a league from the Capital. It is now only uſed by the Grand Seignior, on ſome parties of Pleaſure, or when he is preſent at the Exerciſe of Artillery performed there. On each ſide of the Valley are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of Buildings, intended for the reception of the Grandees, and the Caſcades meant to decorate the Gardens. This rude imitation of the Caſtle of Marli, the idea of which was ſuggeſted by the Father of the laſt Turkiſh Ambaſſador, was deſtroyed by the Rebels who dethroned Sultan Achmet.

The

The Colonel was not there, but the Officers and Soldiers were not the leſs ready to give me every aſſiſtance which they thought I needed. One offered me Coffee, another a Pipe, a third ſomething to eat, but none thought of any thing that might really be of ſervice. Though I was almoſt fainting, I had ſenſe enough left to perceive that, among ſuch Phyſicians, I could not, without great danger, ſuffer myſelf to be overcome by Pain. I collected all my ſtrength, and cauſed my ſtocking to be taken off, to plunge my Foot in cold Water. The Janiſſaries, who would never have thought of this Remedy, having no other Veſſel, brought me the Kettle of the Company *(x)*.

This cold Bath was, certainly, the only thing which could do me any real good;

(x) The reſpect paid to the Kettle of the Janiſſaries can only be compared to that with which we honor our Standards. The Company which ſhould ſuffer it to be taken by the Enemy would be covered with Infamy. It is from this practice that the Colonel is called the Giver of Soup, the Major ſtiled Head of the Kitchen, and the Scullions and Water-bearers, Adjutants.

but

but it increaſed my Pain to ſo great a degree that, during three quarters of an hour, while I remained there, till the arrival of a Chair which I had ſent for, I could only keep myſelf from fainting by ſmelling to Vinegar, and procuring cold Water to be thrown in my face. The Janiſſaries were not a little ſurpriſed at my preferring ſuch Aid to the Wine and Coffee they continually offered me.

This Accident had too many Witneſſes not to be publicly known; and hardly had I got home before the Viſir ſent to let me know his concern. The Grand Seignior was, alſo, kind enough to ſend and make enquiries; but this Prince was too active to allow me the reſt which was neceſſary. He preſſed me to continue my Labours; while his deſire to have me carried to them, and wiſh that I would neglect nothing that might contribute to my cure, only ſhewed his impatience to ſee the Pontoons completed.

The third day after I returned to my Buſineſs, and the Bridge was ſoon thrown over the River Kiathana, oppoſite the Kioſk of

of the Maſter of the Horſe. Sultan Muſtapha was deſirous to form a Judgment himſelf on the ſucceſs of this Undertaking. He ordered the Arrabadgi-Bachi *(y)* to bring four pieces of Cannon to the new Bridge, and gave directions for me to be there, along with Shamlu-Huſſein-Effendi, immediately after Morning Prayer.

As ſoon as we arrived, we perceived a Boat approaching, with three pair of Oars, not unlike thoſe in common uſe, but ſo well known that our Watermen were not deceived. It brought the Grand Seignior, habited like an Oda-Bachi *(z)*, and accom-

(y) Superintendant of the Train. This office was eſtabliſhed by Sultan Soliman, who, at the ſame time, provided for the maintenance of four thouſand Horſes to draw the Artillery; but the Lands appropriated to this purpoſe having been ſucceſſively granted to Individuals, meant to be favoured, were not long applied as bequeathed, and the Cannon were drawn to Kiathana, by Horſes taken from the Mills.

(z) Commander of the Barracks. This military Office is equivalent to that of Captain; and it is to be remembered that, among the Turks, every kind of rank is diſtinguiſhed by the different form of the Turban.

panied

panied by two of his Domeſtics, diſguiſed like Janiſſaries, who immediately, on his arrival, retired, and kept at a diſtance, while Huſſein and I attended the Emperor on the Bridge, the ſtructure of which he very carefully examined. He afterwards cauſed the Artillery to paſs over it ſeveral times, and neglected nothing that could give him any Information on the manner of conveying and fixing theſe military Bridges.

This Prince, who had long kept me ſtanding, ſpoke to me with much concern of the Accident which had happened; and my Paymaſter, thinking to make his court to the Sultan by extolling my activity, talked much of the Fatigue I made him undergo, though he only diſcovered his own Indolence.

Do you not know the reaſon, ſaid the Grand Seignior to Huſſein, of this great difference between you? I will explain it. When Tott came into the World, he fell upon his Feet, and directly began to run; whereas, you fell on your Breech, and there you have remained.

If

If this ſally of Wit humbled the Courtier, he was preſently comforted for it, by being ordered to diſtribute a Bag of Sequins *(a)* among my Workmen, as a Preſent. The vivacity with which Sultan Muſtapha returned to his Boat, prevented his obſerving a ſtep at the Door of the Kioſk, and he was very near getting a dangerous Fall, had we not haſtened to ſupport him. While he was taking water, and applauding the new Bridge, preſſing me, at the ſame time, to make all poſſible Diſpatch, and ſupply the Army with Pontoons, I perceived Huſſein entirely employed in endeavouring to burſt the Bag of Sequins, in his Pocket *(b)*, in order to mix them with thoſe he had himſelf, and thus confound his own Generoſity with that of his Prince.

(a) The Sequin is a piece of Gold Coin, but there are Sequins of different Values. That moſt in uſe is worth about ſeven livres (five ſhillings and ten pence) of our Money.

(b) The Turks wear their under Garments wrapped over, and faſtened by a Girdle, which will hold whatever they place under this fold, in the lining of which Pockets are contrived, for Watches, Money, or whatever elſe they wiſh to carry carefully.

My

My Colleague, at laſt, contented himſelf with diſtributing ten Sequins to each Workman, and thought he might, with a ſafe Conſcience, reſerve, at leaſt, two hundred, for his own Profits.

The Viſir and the Miniſters of the Porte could not ſee without Jealouſy the Conference I had had with their Maſter; and under the ſpecious Pretext of affording the People the ſight of an Invention as new at Conſtantinople as it was uſeful, but, in reality, with a view to rot the Pontoons, commanded that the Bridge ſhould remain where it was till further Orders. The care of the Workmen, however, hindered the effects of this mean Envy, and, for the ſpace of forty days, the people continued to take advantage of this circumſtance, by walking as far as the Bridge, and indulging their curioſity. At length, the neceſſity of no longer interrupting the Navigation of the River obliged the Miniſters to wait ſome other opportunity of doing me an Injury.

The Grand Seignior had agreed that the fifty Pontoons, deſigned for the Army, ſhould be accompanied by a neceſſary number of Men,

Men, able to make uſe of them, with a Commander who had acquired ſufficient Knowledge to give proper Directions; but this very Knowledge was exactly the Article neglected. The whole Apparatus was embarked and ſent off for the Army, and the Captain of the Poontoners followed with his Company, without deigning to become acquainted either with me or the Pontoons.

Theſe different Reinforcements only ſerved to encumber the Port of Varna; and the Grand Viſir, who commanded the Army, ſoon entirely neglected what he had ſo earneſtly ſolicited from the Porte. The Ottoman Forces ſtill remained uſeleſs at Babagdag, where they had been encamped near three years. The ſupplies of Proviſions, the neceſſary quantity of which the Ignorance of the Generals was unable to calculate, though this, indeed, it was impoſſible to aſcertain, on account of the unforeſeen arrival of a multitude of Volunteers, continually preſented either Exceſs or Want; while Waſtefulneſs, on the one hand, and Diſcontent, on the other, produced ſuch neglect of Diſcipline as to inſult all Authority.

thority. Deſpotiſm, which, though unacquainted with the art of preſerving, is perfectly ſkilled in that of deſtroying, knew no remedy, but giving the Place of Janiſſary-Aga to Abdi-Pacha, in order to commit the Juriſdiction of the Army to one whoſe Character was that of an Executioner.

His firſt care was to dig great Pits, and his daily Employment to fill them with the Bodies of the Soldiers, whom he ordered to be ſtrangled, on the ſlighteſt Pretences, and without any Examination. Abdi-Pacha had not been three months in Office before he had put to death more than thirty thouſand Men; and the Government applauded itſelf for having diſcovered ſo efficacious an Expedient, to inſure plenty and good Order.

The means the Turks employed to ſurpriſe their Enemies were not leſs ſtrange. The High Treaſurer, commanding a Detachment, in the Night, was lighted by the Flame of reſinous Wood, burning in iron Chafing-diſhes, fixed to long Poles. Abdi-Pacha, therefore, got the name of the Pit-

digger, and the High Treaſurer that of the Blazer.

Such was the Ignorance of the Turks that their Army wanted a Field Artillery, without which the greateſt Abilities could effect but little. The Founderies which they already had were uſeleſs; they had no method but uſing the Furnaces of Uſina *(c)*, and the Metal, calcined by the action of the Bellows, and afterwards cooled at the bottom of the Veſſels, which received it, was not hot enough when it reached the Moulds; the improper make of which added yet another defect to the Pieces they produced (Y). I propoſed to uſe a reverberatory Furnace, and bore them with a Machine.

The Idea of melting without Bellows, caſting the Pieces ſolid, and boring them afterwards, was laughed at by the Turkiſh Founders. But the Grand Seignior had honored me with his Confidence, and ordered his Miniſters to aſſiſt me in the Execution of my Plans, who preſently uſed

(c) Furnaces uſed for melting of Iron.

every

every Endeavour to render them abortive.

The firſt method they took, to effect this, was refuſing to entice, to Conſtantinople, the neceſſary Workmen; and when I gave in my Liſt of them to the Viſir, You propoſe, ſaid that Miniſter, very ſtrange things, which our ableſt Artiſts conſider as impoſſible; begin, therefore, by ſhewing us they may be done; only produce a ſingle Piece, made after your manner, and we will ſoon procure you as many Workmen as you pleaſe. An anſwer ſo abſurd would certainly have juſtified me in abandoning the Turks to their Stupidity: but, blind to the raſhneſs of my Enterprize, I agreed to go, the next day, with one of the Miniſters of the Porte, to chooſe a proper place for eſtabliſhing the new Foundery. I had no ſooner made this Engagement than, conſidering the prodigious labour requiſite to ſucceed, I was entirely taken up in the diſcovery of the proper means.

The Comte de Saint-Prieſt could not be ignorant of any thing I undertook, and I owed him the more reſpect and confidence

for that few Perſons, in his Situation, would have taken the like Pains to increaſe my Credit with the Porte. The Project of directing the Fabrication of a new Artillery appeared, to him, ſo great an undertaking that he thought nothing could exceed it; and when, while relating to him all that had paſſed, I informed him of the anſwer of the Viſir, and his refuſal of the Workmen, he was ſo offended, that, interrupting me haſtily, I hope, ſaid he, you will now no longer attempt to ſerve ſuch People. I have accepted their own Terms, anſwered I.

The calmneſs of my Reply could not diſpel the Fears of M. de Saint-Prieſt; his Prudence was aware of every Inconvenience, and his knowledge foreſaw every difficulty; which were ſtill more magnified by his Friendſhip. At length I pacified him a little by affirming I ſhould ſucceed; but this Succeſs I could not warrant to myſelf. I had never ſeen any Foundery, and my Taſte for the Arts, which I had always made my Amuſement, had never led me to attempt what could amuſe nobody.

To

To procure the neceſſary Information required much Labour; I repaired to the High Treaſurer, who was to accompany me in my ſearch for a convenient place to eſtabliſh the new Foundery; but we could diſcover none to which many objections might not be raiſed; and I plainly ſaw that the Jealouſy of the Miniſters wiſhed to engage the Sea on their ſide, by placing me near its Shore. It had certainly been acting a prudent part to make a pretext of this new difficulty to give up the undertaking; but a Projector is ſeldom willing to loſe his Labour. I only obſerved that it would coſt the Grand Seignior ſo much the more, and added, with ſome pettiſhneſs, to ſhew the High Treaſurer I was not his Dupe, if he was ſo little careful to ſave his Maſter's Money, I would ſet up my Foundery in the middle of the Harbour.

The Sheir-Emini had the payment of the Expences: A Greek, who pretended to be an Architect, was employed to collect the Workmen, and to ſee that they followed my Directions. I had digeſted my firſt Plan, and diſcovered a method of

preventing the bad Effects of the Water; but I was continually obliged to join practice with Theory, and to be at once Architect, Maſon, Stone-cutter, Forger, and Whiteſmith. My ſchemes were entirely my own, and underſtood by no one elſe. There was no ſimilarity between the labour neceſſary for my Undertaking and that to which my workmen had been accuſtomed; ſo that I have frequently been obliged to ſet the Maſon to the Forge, and give the Trowel to the Smith (Z).

A Greek, very expert in the Art of conſtructing Mills, was, however, of much ſervice to me, in making my boring Machine. The Memoirs of Saint Remi and the Encyclopedie were my conſtant Guides, and I wanted no other till I came to make the Moulds; but there I was quite at a ſtand.

Carthuſian Earth being only mentioned, without any intimation how it was compoſed, I had no light with reſpect to what might ſupply its Place. I, therefore, had recourſe to a mixture of Potter's Earth, Sand, and Plaiſter. At length, every

thing being ready to heat the Furnace, I filled it with Thirty Thouſand weight of Metal, attending its Fuſion for Thirteen Hours together, the Fatigue of which Labour fell only to my Share, as no one was able to give me any Aſſiſtance; and, at break of Day, caſt Twenty Pieces of Cannon, with a Succeſs which ſurprized and enchanted the Turks, relieved M. de Saint Prieſt from his Apprehenſions, and aſtoniſhed Nobody ſo much as myſelf.

I then confeſſed, to that Ambaſſador, that this was the firſt caſting I had ever ſeen. He ſhuddered at my Temerity. It might, indeed appear fooliſh, but it muſt be allowed that Perſeverance in endeavouring, and Ingenuity in effecting, are two things which the greateſt Obſtacles can ſcarcely vanquiſh.

All the Abſurdities and Miſrepreſentations which Ignorance and Artifice had collected, to oppoſe me, immediately diſappeared. The Poſſibility of melting, without Bellows, was demonſtrated; and the Machine for Boring ſoon left no doubt of the Perfection of this new Method. The

Porte no longer refuſed me my Workmen: I was ſupplied with them according to the liſt I had given in; but the Founder was ſo ill choſen, by the Perſon at Marſeilles, on whom I had relied in this particular, that I was obliged to attend every melting myſelf, and at length diſmiſs him, as ſoon as my Carpenter, who ſerved me in every Capacity, was able to ſupply his Place.

While I was employed, at Conſtantinople, in providing the Turks with a better Artillery, the Progreſs of the Ruſſian Arms, on the Danube, induced the Grand Viſir to concur with my Operations; and the Ottoman Cavalry having ſuffered conſiderably, by Ricochet Bombs, the Porte earneſtly requeſted me to prepare ſome of the ſame, and inſtruct a number of Bombardiers in the manner of firing them.

The Plain of Ocmeidan *(d)* was the place appointed for my firſt Experiments, and every

(d) The Plain of Arrows: one part of it contains a great number of ſmall marble Pillars with Inſcriptions. Their diſtances point out how far Arrows have been ſhot, and their Inſcriptions preſerve the

every thing being prepared, the Miniſters of the Porte, always prompt to be my Judges, fixed on the next Day for this Exhibition: but the Grand Seignior ſent them word they need not neglect their Employments, as he propoſed to be preſent himſelf.

This determination, which I was not informed of till very late, obliged me to ſet out at Day-break, to prepare for his Reception. I had taken care every thing, neceſſary for this buſineſs, ſhould be ready the Evening before; had charged the Bombs myſelf, in order to prevent any Accident, which a trifling negligence in that reſpect might occaſion. The number of People, who aſſembled, and increaſed every moment, ſhewed me this care was very proper: but the Imprudence of the Multitude

names of the Shooters. The Turkiſh Emperors almoſt all pretend to this kind of celebrity. Ocmeidan is, likewiſe, the place where it is cuſtomary to give Entertainments on the Circumciſion of the Ottoman Princes. The Grand Seignior has there a very beautiful Kioſk, and other Buildings proper for the Reception of his Court.

made

made me fear the Miſchiefs to which their Ignorance might expoſe them; for, as the Turks had always been uſed to ſee Bombs fired into the Air, they could not be perſuaded that I had need of an open ſpace before the Mortars; and I was obliged to wait the arrival of the Grand Seignior to diſpoſe the Pieces for firing.

The Sheir-Emini *(e)*, who was to be my Aſſiſtant in making theſe Experiments, walked about, with his white Staff in his hand, *(f)* when an Officer of the Seraglio, coming full Gallop, commanded him to repair, with me, to the foot of the Stairs, where his Highneſs was to alight, and ad-

(e) Superintendant of the City, and more particularly of the Seraglio. He is Surveyor of all Public Buildings, and thoſe of the Grand Seignior. He alſo has the care of the Privy-purſe, and tranſacts, by Commiſſion, every thing relating to the Inſpection of extraordinary Expences: but this Office, as well as all others, in the Turkiſh Government, by partaking of their barbarous Policy, cannot be compared to any among the Europeans.

(f) This Staff is the Commander's Enſign of Authority.

ded,

ded, that I muſt take the white Staff, which Orders were accordingly obeyed.

Sultan Muſtapha preſently appeared, and ſaluted me with much affability; while his Son, Sultan Selim, who accompanied him, ſurveyed me from head to foot with the greateſt Attention. M. le Comte de Saint-Prieſt, curious to ſee this Exhibition, had arrived on Horſeback, ſome Time before the Emperor, and had placed himſelf in one of the Apartments near the Kioſk, where his Highneſs and his Son were ſeated. Muſtapha was ſoon informed of this circumſtance, and I have ſince diſcovered that it occaſioned a kind of circumſpection, in the Grand Seignior, for fear of diſpleaſing the Ambaſſador. Theſe little Particulars will not appear too minute, when we conſider how well they deſcribe the Manners of the Nation.

The Sheir-Emini, and myſelf, continued in the place which had been aſſigned us, where we waited the Orders of the Emperor, when the Selictar-Aga came to let me know I might begin firing the Ricochet Bombs. I then repreſented to him that the

the Crowd, which ſurrounded us, and which exceeded twenty thouſand Perſons, muſt, firſt, be ſo far removed as to leave the Ground, before the Mortars, quite open.

Immediately a number of Aſſequis (g) employed their cudgels to force the Populace back, but found it not very eaſy to make them leave a free Paſſage for the Bombs, the rebounding of which only depend on their being fired more or leſs horizontally. At length they procured an open ſpace, about twenty Fathoms in breadth; but it was much to be feared that, if the firſt rebound ſhould happen within it, the leaſt inequality of Ground would throw the Bomb among the Spectators; in

(g) A kind of choſen Boſtandgis; a Detachment of whom always accompanies the Grand Seignior. They are armed with Sabres, and carry white Staves in their hands, to ſhew they are the Executors of the Emperor's Commands. It is alſo the Aſſequis who, in companies, do the Office of the French Marechauſſée, in the neighbourhood of the Court; they, as well as the Boſtandgis, do Duty on Horſeback; except in the Excurſions of the Grand Seignior, whom they always precede on Foot.

which

which caſe the People would have blamed me for what was only to be attributed to their own Stupidity. The firſt Shell, however, having grounded beyond the Multitude, conſiderably relieved me from this Fear.

Six Bombs had already been thrown, and, after twelve or thirteen rebounds, burſt at the diſtance of more than three quarters of a League.

There now remained only one of the ſeven, all of which, as I have before ſaid, I had charged with the greateſt circumſpection. This, too, was thrown; but it grounded in the middle of the open ſpace, and remained there, with its Fuſee burning, for twenty dreadful ſeconds, during which I, every moment, expected the moſt terrible deſtruction, from an Accident no leſs ſingular than unforeſeen. No one attempted to get out of its way; this Bomb was looked on with the ſame curioſity as all the preceding; happily, at laſt, it did not burſt. I then recovered from my Fright, and, though I carefully examined it, could not perceive but it had been charged in

every reſpect like the reſt, nor ever diſcovered the cauſe of this Exception. As there was not time for my Anxiety to be diſcovered, this was conſidered as a ſtroke of dexterity, with which I choſe to conclude; and the Turks boaſted of the Courage they had ſhewn.

Some Shells, thrown from an eleven-inch Mortar, at a Tent, ſet up at the diſtance of ſix hundred Fathoms, by knocking down the Mark, completed the ſatisfaction of the Emperor, and his Grandees, aſſembled on the occaſion. His Highneſs had brought with him a rich ermined Peliſſe, which he intended to preſent me with; but, as I have already hinted, the preſence of the Comte de Saint-Prieſt, whom he had not expected, determined him to ſuppreſs this mark of Diſtinction; for fear of diſpleaſing that Ambaſſador, for whom he had not prepared the like Preſent. He therefore adopted the Expedient of ſending for me to the Porte, there to receive this Token of his Approbation.

One of the Officers of his Train was immediately diſpatched with theſe Orders, and the

the Sheir-Emini was directed to conduct me thither. However, the People, who had greatly applauded my Experiments, and expected to ſee me receive an honourable Reward, ſurpriſed to find me ſent for to the Porte, imagined ſome Puniſhment was intended, and ſoon ſeemed convinced it was well deſerved.

The Grand Viſir, informed of my arrival, waited for me in the Hall of Audience, where all the Miniſters were aſſembled. I received their compliments on the Satisfaction I had given the Grand Seignior. His Highneſs, ſaid the Firſt Miniſter, has ordered me to beſtow on you this public Mark of his Eſteem; and, at the ſame time, made a ſign to the Maſter of the Ceremonies to inveſt me with the Peliſſe; while the Haſnadar *(b)* preſented me with a Purſe of two hundred Sequins. I directly turned towards thoſe who had accompanied me, and ſhewing them my Peliſſe, I have received, ſaid I, with Gratitude, this Proof of the Grand Seignior's Favour; do

(b) The Treaſurer.

you return thanks to the Viſir for this Purſe; it is his Gift.

This Expedient, which I preferred to a diſcuſſion of our different Cuſtoms, was a ſufficient Leſſon to the Viſir; at the ſame time that it diſengaged me from the Embarraſſment of Oriental Politeneſs *(i)*.

The day began to decline when I left the Porte, and it was dark night before I arrived at the Suburbs of Pera. Two Officers, one belonging to the Artillery, and the other to the Fleet, who were appointed to guard me, preceded me on the two Pavements. I was not more than thirty

(i) This Turkiſh Cuſtom, of giving money, occaſioned the greateſt Mortification to M. de Bonneval that a Man, like him, could ſuffer. The Ambaſſador Extraordinary, from the Emperor, who in the Auſtrian Army had been in an inferior Station to the Refugee, dined, as is cuſtomary, with the Viſir. The Porte had choſen Kiathana for the Place of this entertainment. M. de Bonneval had orders to repair thither, with the corps of Bombardiers, of which he was Commander. When the Exerciſe was over, he was ſent for by the Viſir, who gave him a handful of Sequins, which his Situation obliged him to accept, with ſubmiſſion.

paces

paces from home, when the Officer of the Fleet, whom I followed, was ſtopped by ſome perſons he met, who roughly aſked him to what Corps he belonged, and, on his anſwer, diſcharged two Piſtols at him; he returned the fire, and was ſeconded by the Officer of the Artillery, who, at the ſame time, cried out for help. Immediately ſix Janiſſaries, from the German Ambaſſador's Hotel, which was oppoſite mine, ruſhed out with their Carbines, and, without farther Enquiry, gave us a general Volley. This certainly was not the aſſiſtance we wiſhed; it was, however, ſufficient to put our Enemies to flight, and the time requiſite for our Auxiliaries to re-charge gave me an opportunity to get ſafe into my own Houſe, without any of us being hurt.

Though I had made no complaint of this Attack, which certainly was not perſonally levelled at me, the Officers of the Police, at Pera, ſent to inform me that all poſſible care ſhould be taken to puniſh the Offenders, if I would deſcribe them. The Grand Viſir, likewiſe, ſent, the next morning, to enquire after me, and receive an account of

the Aſſault made on us the preceding evening. The Grand Seignior himſelf, alſo, expreſſed his concern; but the attention of Government was ſoon neceſſary to matters of more Importance; an account of which will explain the reaſon of the Skirmiſh I have mentioned; at the ſame time that it will give a proper Idea of the manners of the Turks, the Spirit of their military Corps, and the Feebleneſs of their Government.

The Janiſſaries of the Company of the Laſſes had, for ſome time before, been at variance with the Troops employed on board the Fleet. The Quarrel began in one of the Taverns of Galata, where a Boy, of about thirteen or fourteen, uſed to dance to bring Cuſtom to the Houſe. As he equally pleaſed both Parties, the diſpute concerning him roſe to a great height; and, the one ſucceſſively taking him from the other, they at length publicly declared War, of which Galata became the Seat.

Their Outrages were carried ſo far that, one Party having taken refuge within the principal Moſque, the other carried off Cannon from ſome Merchant-ſhips, and fired

fired on the Gate of the Temple. In every Corner of the ſtreet there was an Ambuſcade, and the Night was diſturbed by continual firing, within the hearing of the Grand Seignior himſelf. All Buſineſs and Communication of every kind was interrupted.

The Government, which had neglected to ſtifle this Contention in its Birth, and which might eaſily have perceived to what Extremities it was carried, by the Attack on my Attendants, knowing no method of re-eſtabliſhing good Order, but that of deſtroying the Human Species, thought it beſt to ſuffer the Combatants to murder each other, after having endeavoured, to no purpoſe, to procure a Reconciliation.

This ſcandalous Anarchy laſted three days, during which more than fifty perſons were killed. I happened to be with the Viſir when word was brought him of ſome new, and ſtill more obſtinate, Engagements, between the belligerent Parties. So much Bravery, at Galata, ſaid he, and Cowardice, on the Danube, plainly ſhews the Turks are only afraid of Hats. We

ſhall never quell this Diſturbance, continued he, laughing, without we ſend Tott with a ſcore of Frenchmen, to bring them to Reaſon.

It was time to treat the ſubject ſeriouſly, for it was to be feared leſt the other Companies of the Janiſſaries, taking part with their Comrades, ſhould ſpread the Tumult to Conſtantinople itſelf. Vigorous meaſures were, on this account, not without Difficulty. Policy was therefore employed, and the ſubject of their contention taken from them; but the Party who had got poſſeſſion would not conſent to give him up, without the moſt poſitive Aſſurances that he ſhould not be yielded to their Opponents; and the Boy, ſurrendered on theſe Conditions, was directly hanged, to the great ſatisfaction of thoſe who had fought for him but a moment before.

During the Riot, the Miniſters of the Porte treated with me concerning the Eſtabliſhment of a new Corps of Artillery. Not that the Turks wanted Troops appointed for this ſervice; more than forty thouſand men, enrolled, and paid under the name of

of Topchi (Gunners), compoſed a Body, already too numerous; but, in reality, more expenſive than uſeful.

Subject to no Diſcipline, and never embodied, they were, like the Janiſſaries, ſcattered through the Capital, and the Empire. A Ticket, named Eſſamai (Pay), which each Soldier had, intitled him to his Pay, whether he preſented it himſelf, or ſent it by another; and frequently theſe were ſold, in all which caſes the Bearer never rejoined his Company, unleſs he knew not what to do better, or in order to receive his ſhare of the Allowance of thoſe who remain with the Corps.

This Abuſe will be much more evident on a view of the Barracks of the Janiſſaries, which are erected at Conſtantinople in a choſen ſituation. Sultan Soliman, by whom they were built, has beſtowed a ſplendid Gilding on the Cielings of the Porticos, which his Succeſſors have always maintained, though they have entirely neglected the Diſcipline which he eſtabliſhed. This diſregard of Good Order, by totally deſtroying the Spirit of the Inſtitution, has in-

creaſed the number of thoſe who receive Pay to four hundred thouſand, for that of thoſe who are enrolled is unlimited. Yet twenty thouſand are ſcarcely ever collected at once (A).

It is likewiſe to be obſerved that this ſmall number is principally compoſed of thoſe who receive but little Pay, or, perhaps, none; having only entered the ſervice to obtain a right to it. This Pay, which is only diſtributed every three Months, has a progreſſive Increaſe from three Aſpers to ninety-nine *(k)*.

Such a method of recompenſing military Services, by ſubjecting their Reward to the

(k) The Aſper may be eſtimated at ſix Deniers (one Farthing) therefore ninety-nine Aſpers are equivalent to forty-nine Sous and a half; (two ſhillings and three farthings). But from an eſtimation made of the reſpective Currency, the courſe of Exchange reduces it to thirty-nine Sous ſix Deniers (one ſhilling and ſeven pence three farthings); though even this calculation is much above the intrinſic value of their Coin. The ſilver Money of the Grand Seignior is ſcarcely ſeven Deniers fine.

The ſilver Aſſay of France is divided into twelve Deniers, or two hundred and eighty-eight grains. T.

Pleaſure

Pleaſure of the ſuperior Officers, is alone ſufficient to effect the Deſtruction of this Corps. Favor, which miſapplies every thing, has aſſumed the Diſpoſal of the moſt conſiderable Salaries, and the greater part of the Revenues appropriated to military matters. Theſe, in Turkey, the Man of Power, or Influence, beſtows on his Footmen; and the Empire, deprived of the aſſiſtance provided by the Legiſlator, ſcarcely finds in the Remainder Supplies for the moſt neceſſary and urgent Occaſions.

Indeed, if we except the produce of thoſe Oppreſſions which ſwell the private Treaſure of the Grand Seignior, under the legal, but not therefore leſs unjuſt, Title of Confiſcation, the Revenues of the Empire, though entered in the Regiſters at more than twenty millions Sterling, do not, in fact, produce above three millions nine hundred thouſand Pounds. Out of theſe the Troops ſhould be paid, the Fleet maintained, and other current and unforeſeen Expences defrayed: while the ſixteen millions and a half, appropriated by Sultan Soliman for the Support of a numerous Ca-

valry, as well as of the four thouſand Horſes to draw the Artillery, and to pay for the Reparation of Fortreſſes and Highways, with other public Expences, only conſtitute the private Fortunes of ſome Individuals; and, in caſe of a War, the Grand Seignior is obliged to ſupply the deficiency by the Treaſures he has in reſerve (B).

Thoſe of Sultan Muſtapha were now nearly exhauſted; and, though he had expended more than twenty-five millions Sterling, he found but little effected to conſole him for diſburſements ſo great. He felt the neceſſity of having his Troops entirely new formed, and was deſirous I ſhould myſelf give Rules to the new Corps of Artillery; but it was firſt neceſſary that proviſion ſhould be made for the Expence which this muſt occaſion. The High Treaſurer could only form a Revenue of twelve thouſand five hundred Pounds, by ſeizing on ſome Perquiſites before exacted by the Clerks of his Office.

The Porte next conſidered what name ſhould be given this new Corps; the Learned were conſulted, and the word Suratchis

ratchis *(l)* was unanimouſly adopted. The Grand Seignior gave his Sanction to the Ordonnance, which I had drawn up, by the Hattu-Humayonn *(m)*, which he iſſued for the Creation of this new Corps.

Its uniform was determined in like manner; and as the nature of the Service required it ſhould be light, without, however, being liable to be ridiculed by Ignorance, or offend Fanaticiſm, all this was effected by borrowing the Form of the Albanian Habit; and theſe Suratchis, in the whole ſix hundred Men, were, with their Officers, lodged in Barracks at Kiathana, where the School was already eſtabliſhed.

Though they were only to be employed to ſerve the Artillery, yet, as a Knowledge of the Bayonet was become indiſpenſable, I determined not to neglect this opportunity of accuſtoming the Turks to the uſe of that Weapon. It might likewiſe be expected, that, ſince it had ſo much contributed to the Succeſſes of the Ruſſians,

(l) The Diligent.

(m) Supreme Edict, which has the Force of a Law, and is obligatory for ever.

the

the introduction of this Novelty ſhould have eſcaped Cenſure; but, to ſilence that, we were forced to impoſe upon Prejudice, by procuring the public Approbation of the Mufti.

The Head of the Law, accompanied by the Viſir, and all the Miniſters, repaired to the School: I was before informed of this extraordinary Viſit, and prepared to receive it. As ſoon as the Exerciſe was over, the Mufti requeſted me to draw up the Regiment, before the Kioſk, in which he was; he then aſked me for one of the new Muſquets, which I brought him, and, after having diſcourſed with me on the Utility of the Bayonet, he pronounced a Prayer, aloud, that God would bleſs this Weapon, and proſper it when employed in defence of the True Faith.

The Exclamation, Praiſed be God! uttered by the whole Corps, was immediately repeated by the Multitude, aſſembled by Curioſity; and the Fanatics, ever ready to applaud either a Benediction or an Anathema, talked of nothing but the Advantages

tages which this Invention could not fail to procure the Empire.

The Janiſſaries were far from Inattentive to the punctuality with which the Pay of the Suratchis was advanced every week, or the Uniform in which they were cloathed; and openly ſaid they would ſubmit, with Pleaſure, to the ſame Diſcipline, to receive the ſame Reward. Indeed this Body, formerly confined to Children received as a Tribute, and once ſo formidable to its Maſters, having been long debaſed, by a total neglect of all Diſcipline, was, at length, diſregarded to ſuch a degree that, at the Time of the Inſtitution of the Suratchis, the Grand Seignior owed the Janiſſaries nine quarters pay. Nevertheleſs they gave not the leaſt uneaſineſs to the Sovereign; yet this Tranquility, far from being a Proof of their Submiſſion, was only a certain preſage of the ſucceſs of the Enemy. Troubles, in a Deſpotic Government, only exhibit national Energy; which, when it ſinks before Internal Oppreſſion, does but prove itſelf no longer in Condition to oppoſe a Foreign Force.

The

The Severity of the military Puniſhments, already eſtabliſhed, afforded me an Opportunity to gain the Love of the Soldiers, without ſacrificing the Regard due to Diſcipline; and I, as ſoon as poſſible, ſubſtituted, inſtead of the Baſtinado and Fetters, other Puniſhments, leſs violent in appearance, though full as efficacious in eſtabliſhing Good Order and Obedience, by inſpiring a Senſe of Honour, which no Soldier ought to be without, though even the Word is unknown to the Turkiſh Language (C).

Doubling the Guard-duty was the Puniſhment of any ſlight Offence. The Lapels and Collar turned back, without interrupting duty, was inflicted for more conſiderable Faults; and Deſerters, before not conſidered as guilty of any Crime, were condemned to the Gallies. Sentinels likewiſe were placed, a Practice not before heard of among the Turks; and ſome Tartars, who had formerly been in the Ruſſian Service, enrolled in this new Corps, ſet an example of exactitude in Duty.

This

This Troop, principally intended to ſerve the ſmall Artillery, was exerciſed every Day, and was ſoon capable of firing fifteen times in a Minute; *(n)* but I conſtantly refuſed to accede to their deſire of learning the Exerciſe of ſmall Arms, becauſe this Corps was too inconſiderable to repel the Raillery of the others; and I muſt obſerve that M. de Bonneval only failed, in his project of forming one, in Turkey, ſimilar to that in Europe, *(o)* becauſe, inattentive to

(n) Leſs quickneſs in firing and more care in taking aim had certainly been preferable; but the Turks were only terrified by Noiſe, and were deſirous of making one; any ſuperior reaſoning was beyond their knowledge.

(o) I have been informed by the Turks, that M. de Bonneval, who had collected a Body of Albanians at Scutari, after having exerciſed them in wheeling to the right and left for ſome time, could never obtain from them a promiſe to return the year after for the ſame purpoſe; and that a Derviſe, ſeeing them wheel, turned towards ſome Janiſſaries, aſſembled out of Curioſity, and ſaid, the ſame Fate is preparing for you that Peter the Great made the Stretlitzes ſuffer. But the Murmur excited by this Expreſſion was leſs the

to the Spirit of the Nation, he began where he ſhould have ended. The Exerciſe, indeed, properly ſo called, was uſeleſs to the new Corps, the particular Duty of which was always to begin by piling their Arms.

Sultan Muſtapha came frequently to theſe Exerciſes, was much pleaſed with the quickneſs of the firing, and always rewarded the Agility of the Gunners; but he never permitted any thing to be ordered but as coming from me, and I took advantage of this Opportunity to excite the Activity of the Miniſter, by encouraging that of the Emperor.

The Viſir, though his buſineſs was only to give my Labours every Aſſiſtance in his Power, was deſirous to honor them with his Inſpection. In one of his Excurſions he came to Kiathana, without my receiving any information that he intended it, and aſked for a Repetition of the Exerciſe,

the cauſe of the diſappearance of this Phantom of Diſcipline than the Intereſt of thoſe who were to be diſciplined, and whom it was neceſſary to pay in the firſt place.

which

which was gone through every Morning. We cannot repeat it without Orders, anſwered the Officer, who had the Command. Are not mine then ſufficient? replied the Viſir. We reſpect them, without doubt, returned the Officer; but in this Particular acknowledge no Superior but our Adgibektache *(p)*. The Viſir ſmiled at the reply, and was ſatisfied; it was by his means it came to my Knowledge.

It was now ſome time ſince I had been conſulted, by the Grand Seignior, on the methods proper to be taken for the ſecurity of

(p) Adgibektache: A Derviſe Santon, revered by the Turks, and conſidered as the Founder of the Janiſſaries, though he only gave them Laws. He lived under the Reign of Amurath the firſt, and when that Prince, by the advice of his Viſirs, formed a part of the Slaves who had been allotted him into a new Corps *(Yeni-Tchery)* he applied to Adgibektache to give them rules, and his Benediction. It is ſaid, that, in order to conſecrate this new Corps, when he addreſſed his prayers to God, he placed the ſleeve of his white Robe on the Head of their Chief, and that the white Felt, which ſtill hangs from the Bonnet of the Janiſſaries, is worn in memory of the Sleeve of Adgibektache.

the

the Strait of the Black Sea. I had adviſed the building two Caſtles near the Mouth, and thought this project had been given up, when I was informed of the works, carried on, by the Porte, near the two Light-houſes of Europe and Aſia. They were entruſted to the Abilities of two Architects, as little acquainted with the nature of Lines of Defence as with the Rules of Vitruvius.

Near the Entrance of the Strait, and out of the reach of ſix and thirty pounders, they erected ſome wretched Towers, and uncemented Walls, which were to contain the Artillery; and, the whole having been whitewaſhed, the Miniſters were ſoon able to inform the Grand Seignior of the completion of this Work.

Sultan Muſtapha, who certainly meant I ſhould ſuperintend the Undertaking, aſtoniſhed to find no mention of me, in the Account he had received, enquired the reaſon. His Miniſters, who ſought to employ me as little as poſſible, alledged, as an Excuſe, that their Orders did not ſtate I was to be conſulted; but his Highneſs

neſs, not willing to rely on their Judgment, ſubjected them to the mortification of having their Work ſubmitted to my Inſpection.

The Reis-Effendi, *(q)* and the High Treaſurer, were appointed to conduct me to the Caſtles, where I was to decide whether they ſhould be preſerved or demoliſhed. The Civility with which the Grand Viſir made me the Requeſt proved the ſame complaiſance had not been obſerved by the Sultan in giving his Orders relative to this buſineſs; and tho' the Commiſſion rendered them uneaſy, it was no leſs embarraſſing to me; for I muſt either betray the Truſt repoſed in me, or ſacrifice the Innocent. It was plain that if I had diſapproved of the Works, which had been erected, thoſe who had planned them would throw the blame on the two Architects; and, as theſe could neither do better nor refuſe to undertake what they were commanded, it would be barbarous to impute the error to them.

(q) Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

We took theſe poor Fellows with us, and their firſt Care, on our Arrival, was to repreſent the Danger to which they ſhould be expoſed, if I diſapproved of their work. I aſſured them that their Ignorance ought to be their Protection; but this did not relieve them from their Fears.

The two Miniſters now preſſed me to give my Opinion, and already began to find fault with the Maſonry, as well as the bad condition of the Lodgments, which had been erected within the Walls. That, ſaid I, is of little Conſequence; the principal thing to be conſidered is, whether the Cannon carry far enough to make the Balls croſs each other; every thing elſe may eaſily be remedied. Immediately one of the Architects aſſerted he was certain they would. Whether they do, or do not, ſaid I, it is nothing to you; you have built where you were directed, and, if the diſtance is too great for the Artillery to command the intermediate ſpace, it will be needleſs to examine your part of the buſineſs, becauſe, every thing muſt be demoliſhed, and a new Situation choſen.

The

Then Greek then perceived the Folly of his Reply, and the Gunners received Orders to charge their Pieces. The High Treaſurer, who, of all the Miniſters, had had the greateſt ſhare in planning thoſe works, propoſed we ſhould go upon the Strand, and obſerve the Balls. The principal Engineer, added he, has aſſured me he has already perceived them croſs each other. I have ſo much confidence, replied I, in his Obſervations, that I will take care not to make mine at the ſame Place; I ſhall go to the top of the Tower; its height will better enable us to form a Judgment.

We immediately aſcended the Battlements of a wretched Tower, intended by theſe prudent Planners to ſerve for a Powder Magazine; and, a Flag having been diſplayed as a ſignal, we perceived, diſtinctly, that the Balls from the Cannon, on each Side, ſcarcely paſſed over a third of the Diſtance between the two Caſtles.

This Experiment, ſeveral times repeated, confirmed our Obſervations, and decided the Queſtion. Any examination of the conſtruction of the Caſtles was now ſuper-

fluous, and the Inutility of the Fortreſſes compleatly demonſtrated. The memorial was ſo drawn up as to remove the apprehenſions of the two Architects. I dined with the Miniſters, and we afterwards reimbarked, to return to Conſtantinople, and to endeavour to diſcover, as we went along, a proper Situation for the two Caſtles, thought neceſſary for the defence of the Boſphorus.

We quickly found ſuch a one: the two firſt Capes we paſſed, ſtanding at a convenient Diſtance, and ſituated in ſuch a manner as to defend the Anchoring Places before them, ſeemed as if intended for the very Purpoſe. A repreſentation was made of theſe Obſervations, the Miniſters gave in an account of what had been done, and the concluſion of all was that, for above ſix Months, I heard no further mention of this Scheme.

The Superintendance of the Foundery, and the daily Exerciſes of the new Regiment of Gunners, afforded me ſufficient Employment, and I thought no more of the Project of fortifying the Strait. I imagined the Grand

Grand Seignior had entirely laid it aſide, when two Meſſages, arriving at the ſame time, the one from the Viſir, and the other from the Reis-Effendi, to preſs me to repair to the Porte, made me ſuſpect ſome particular Orders from the *Interior (r)* the execution of which would admit of no delay.

I found the Miniſters all aſſembled, at the Viſir's, in great agitation, and ſtill terrified with the Anger and Menaces of the Emperor *(s)*. Sultan Muſtapha, who often came to the Porte, to confer with the Officers of State, and receive an account of their Proceedings, had been there that morning. Well informed, no doubt, that the new Caſtles had never been begun, he haſtily called his Miniſters together, and the opening of his Harangue made them tremble. Traitors, ſaid he, you have ſhaken

(r) This Term, which is a literal Tranſlation of the Turkiſh Expreſſion, is uſed to ſignify the Palace of the Grand Seignior; and ſeems better ſuited than any other to Deſpotiſm.

(s) Theſe particulars I had from the Reis-Effendi.

my Throne, and are wholly intent on my Deſtruction.

His Eyes ſparkled with anger and his Auditory were ſtruck dumb.

Iſmael Bey *(t)*, more daring than the others, becauſe more certain of his Maſter's Favour, alone had the Courage to requeſt him to name the Traitor. Yourſelf, replied the Sultan. Where are the Caſtles that Tott was to have built, ſix months ago? He has pitched on a favourable Situation: have you ſupplied him with the means of laying the firſt Stone?

The Miniſters defended themſelves by declaring they had received no ſuch Orders: the Grand Seignior declared they had, and was with Difficulty pacified by their Aſſurances that Workmen ſhould be employed the next day. We, therefore, appointed a time to meet, and gave a few ſtrokes with a Pick-ax, that theſe Officers might, with a ſafe Conſcience, aſſure the Emperor a beginning had been made.

(t) The Name of the Reis-Effendi.

While

While I was buſy in forming Plans to take every Advantage which the Situation afforded, the Viſir conſulted the Aſtrologers, to know what day and hour were moſt proper for laying the firſt Stone *(u)*. They had reſolved the important Queſtion, and I was going to ſet out, to be preſent at this Ceremony, when a Turk, followed by ſeveral Tchoadars, arrived, and announced that he came from the Grand Seignior. The important Demeanor of this Perſonage, and his ſilent Gravity, would not ſuffer him haſtily to explain the nature of his Miſſion. The ſlowneſs with which he ſwallowed his cup of Coffee, that Prelude to every Turkiſh Converſation, ſerved, ſtill more, to increaſe my Impatience.

At length, he drew from his boſom a ſmall Bag, of red Satin, with which he preſented me, on the part of his Maſter, complimenting me, at the ſame time, on the

(u) The Abſurd Science of Aſtrology, which is founded on Fear, and exhibits nothing but the Ignorance of thoſe by whom it is regarded, is ſo much revered, at Conſtantinople, that the Turks have a Munedgim-Bachi: Chief of the Diviners.

Mark of Diſtinction it encloſed, and the Prerogatives attached to it. In the mean time, I opened the Bag, and took out a bundle of Handkerchiefs, embroidered with Gold, in which were wrapped four Pieces of Ebony, joined by ſilver hinges, and conſtituting the Meaſure or Standard of the *Pic (x)* uſed in Building. You may now, continued the Turk, diſpoſe, at Pleaſure, of all the Workmen in Conſtantinople; and the *Pic* of the Grand Seignior, now intruſted to you, extends your Authority over them to the infliction of any Puniſhment.

Such high Privileges loſt much of their value in my hands; but I was obliged to ſhew what great Eſtimation I held them in by making the Bearer a Preſent, and beſtowing a few Sequins on his Attendants.

I took the Standard, along with my other Inſtruments, and ſet off for the place

(x) Pic is the name of the Turkiſh Ell, but there are various kinds of this Meaſure. The French Ell, uſed to meaſure Cloth, is equal to a Pic and three quarters. The Indaſai is another ſort uſed for the meaſurement of other Stuffs; and the Pic employed in Building, which is the longeſt of them all, is two Feet four Inches three Lines long.

where

where the new Caſtles were to be erected. Here I found about forty Overſeers of the Workmen, and each provided with a double Pic. This mark of Authority making me recollect that which I had received, I reſolved, while I waited for the aſtrological Hour, which was to bring the Miniſters, to employ the time in examining the Meaſures of theſe Surveyors, in order to eſtabliſh that Uniformity without which no exactneſs could be expected.

All theſe Gentlemen came round me with great Familiarity; and their Chief, who ſtiled and believed himſelf to be an Architect, and ſeemed to imagine I ſhould liſten to all he ſaid, propoſed to adjuſt all the Meaſures by his own. It will firſt, replied I, be neceſſary to examine yours: I immediately took from among my Inſtruments the little crimſon Bag, and drew out the Standard: the Sight made the whole Company retreat ten Paces at leaſt.

I took advantage of this firſt Surprize to eſtabliſh my Authority by an Act of Severity, which ſhewed my Power without being cruel. I commanded all their Meaſures,

ſures, which, on examination, ſhould not be found conformable to the Standard, to be deſtroyed; none of them, on trial, eſcaped; that of their Chief ſhared the common Fate, and I cauſed new ones to be made, on the Spot, divided all on the ſame Scale.

We were ſtill employed in this manner when the Miniſters arrived, and repaired to the Place I had fixed on for laying the firſt Stone. That, the Mortar, and the Workmen, were all in readineſs. The High Treaſurer, holding in one hand the Aſtrological Sentence, and his Watch in the other, obſerved the Minute with the moſt ſcrupulous Enthuſiaſm; and the name of God, pronounced at the laſt ſecond, was the Signal for compleating this ridiculous Ceremony.

My Firſt Buſineſs was to level the Ground, and procure from it the neceſſary materials for building the Caſtles. This could not be effected in a Rock, the quality of which was a Matrix of Porphyry, but by Gunpowder. I collected, and lodged in Barracks, near the Works, fifteen hundred Macedo-

Macedonians, who are the Auvergnats (y) of Turkey.

The School of Artillery, the Foundery, and the new Caſtles, obliged me to go ſix Leagues every day: the Grand Seignior gave orders to the Boſtandgi-Bachi to furniſh me with the Boatmen of the Seraglio, who received an extra pay from the Public Treaſury; and from that time my Boat was laid up, in the Arſenal, by the Side of the Felucca of the Grand Seignior.

The firſt Work of the New Foundery was to be a Train of Field Artillery, with which the Turks were entirely unprovided: it was to be ſerved by the new Corps. The Viſir, in all his Letters from the Army, was very preſſing for its Arrival, and the Grand Seignior gave me orders to prepare fifty Four-Pounders, and their Carriages, which were to be accompanied by three hundred Suratchis, inſtructed in the new School. The conſtruction of the Carriages was another addition to my Labours,

(y) *Laborious Mountaineers. From Auvergne a mountainous Province of France.* T.

and

and the building of the Caſtles was carried on, with the utmoſt Expedition, in order to ſatisfy the Impatience of the Emperor to have the lower Batteries finiſhed, and ſupplied with their Artillery.

But though the Stone was procured from the Rock on which we built, and the Materials, conſequently, at hand, yet the Layers of Porphyry it contained, by reſiſting the beſt tempered Tools, made it difficult to penetrate; my indefatigable Macedonians, however, overcame all obſtacles.

Notwithſtanding the Grand Seignior deſired ſo much Diſpatch, I had eſtabliſhed a Day of Reſt, and permitted the Workmen to go, on the Sunday, and amuſe themſelves in the neighbouring Village. Thoſe who worked at the Caſtle, on the European ſide, took advantage of this Indulgence to divert themſelves at Fanaraki *(z)*. Twenty-two Macedonians, each with his Muſquet on his ſhoulder, went thither, and met in a Tavern, where they ſang the Victories of

(z) A Village ſituated in Europe on the Point of the Cape which ſtands at the Entrance of the Strait, and takes its name from the Light-houſe erected there.

Alexander.

Alexander. At the ſame time a large Saique, loaded with Ammunition, for Varna, meeting with a contrary Wind, had anchored, under ſhelter of the Rock, before the Village.

Ninety Turkiſh Soldiers had landed from this Veſſel, when one of my Workmen, having left his Companions to take the freſh air, happened to come down to the Sea Shore, where he found theſe Turks, all armed, one of whom, proud of the ſuperiority of their number, came up to the Macedonian, and gave him a blow with all his force.

The latter, having no Weapon to revenge the Affront, and little acquainted with the Turkiſh language, only made a Sign to the Champion, who had attacked him, to wait till he came back. Immediately he returns to the Tavern, and, without ſaying a word to his Companions, takes his Muſquet, unperceived, returns to the Turks, finds out his Adverſary, and makes him a ſign to ſtrike him again.

The Turk, having his Piſtol in his hand, fired it cloſe to his head, but miſſed the Macedonian,

Macedonian, who, in an instant, shot him through the Body, and fell himself by the fire of more than eighty Musquets, discharged at him by the rest of the Turks.

The report of the Pieces soon roused the attention of the twenty-one Macedonians, who, finding one of their Companions gone, seized their arms, and hastened to the Sea-shore, where they saw their Comrade lying dead by the side of the Turk. Without further Information, they charge the Enemy, kill nine on the spot, and drive the rest towards the Sea; where these valiant Fellows, some in boats, and some by swimming, escape on board their Vessel, cut the Cable, and get out of danger, by standing away from shore.

This Adventure was too serious for me not to receive an account of it immediately. Two Macedonians were dispatched to give me information, and, being desirous to be first with the Visir, I went directly to complain, to that Minister, of the Insult offered the Workmen at the Castles. He, having heard what I had to say, coolly replied, It is very well; let us think no more about it.

As

As I did not imagine he already knew of the Tranſaction, this anſwer did not ſeem ſufficient, and I continued to inſiſt on further ſatisfaction. What, ſays he, with warmth, will you pretend, then, that nine Mahometans, killed on the ſpot, are not a ſufficient number of Victims to atone for the death of one Infidel?

I then lowered my tone, but repreſented to him, that it was neceſſary to provide, by the ſevereſt Orders, for the Security of the Labourers. At this rate, added he, laughing, you and your fifteen hundred Macedonians will make a conqueſt of the country. Your methods of protecting yourſelves are better than any with which I can furniſh you. This I knew as well as the Viſir, and, as all I expected was to procure an Indemnity for the Greeks, I returned, perfectly ſatisfied with my Negociation, and without any apprehenſions for the conſequences of this affair, notwithſtanding the Threats of the Company of the Laſſes, which no one among them had the Courage to put in execution.

The

The Grand Seignior had aſſigned me a Country Houſe, hired at his Expence, and ſituated on the Sea Shore, in the Village of Tarapia. As this was at an equal diſtance from Conſtantinople and the Caſtles, it was very convenient for the different works I had to ſuperintend. One day, on my return from the Foundery, I learned that a Turkiſh Veſſel, from the Black Sea, meeting with a contrary wind, oppoſite Tarapia, had overſet at the Entrance of the Harbour.

The Weather was ſo ſerene, and they had ſo fine a Breeze, that is was difficult to conceive how this Accident could happen. Curious to enquire into its Cauſe, I went down to the Sea Side, and the firſt thing I ſaw was the Keel of the Veſſel, riſing above the Water. The Captain, and five or ſix Sailors, who had compoſed its Crew, had ſaved themſelves by ſwimming, and were ſitting on the ſhore, in melancholy contemplation of their Diſaſter. They informed me that a young Girl and her Mother, Paſſengers on board, were drowned.

But

But this did not explain the Reaſon of ſo extraordinary an Accident: at length, after a great many Queſtions, I found their Ship, loaded with Planks as high as the middle of the Maſt, had ſailed from Sinope, without any Ballaſt. I ſhuddered to think of the Riſk they had run, and which was not to be avoided, on the leaſt change of Wind. They only owed the good Fortune of not having overſet in the middle of the Sea to the Wind continuing full in their ſtern, till it had brought them within the Strait, where a ſlight Gale from the South had, at laſt, puniſhed them for their Ignorance.

It was plain, from their own account, that this was the firſt Voyage the Captain and his Sailors had made. I took pity of them, offered them aſſiſtance to right their Veſſel; and my Pity increaſed when I found that a Turk, who pretended to be very ſkilful in maritime Affairs, had perſuaded them to advance him a hundred Sequins, to undertake this Operation. I could eaſily imagine this Sum, which was all they poſſeſſed, after their ſhipwreck, was a ſtill greater loſs; and I was not deceived.

Some Cordage, brought from Conſtantinople in a Shallop, and accompanied by a dozen Leventis *(a)*, only ſerved, by bringing the Veſſel nearer the Shore, to place it on Rocks, where the leaſt ſwell of the Sea muſt have daſhed it to pieces: and theſe officious Aſſiſtants, pretending they muſt have more Money, left it in this condition.

The poor ſhipwrecked Sailors were now reduced to Deſpair, when I ſent to the Caſtles for ſome Capſterns, and other neceſſary Apparatus, with which, in one afternoon, I put their Ship in condition to continue her Voyage to Conſtantinople.

It was truly affecting to ſee the Joy of theſe poor Fellows, and their eagerneſs to collect me a Preſent. I, however, would accept nothing, but a Promiſe that they would never again ſail without Ballaſt. Misfortune gives good advice, ſaid the Captain; and I will make uſe of that you have given us to offer you a Tribute of Gratitude more ſuitable to the Services we have received. In ſhort, ſome months after, he

(a) Sailors on board their Ships of War.

returned

returned to me again, accompanied by the ſame Sailors, loaded with dried Raiſins, Butter, and other Proviſions, from the Black Sea. They likewiſe brought ſeveral Sheep.

I made him come in, but was determined to receive no part of his Preſent. You ſee, ſaid he, the unfortunate Sailors who are indebted to you for their Preſervation. God has bleſſed your Good-work; we have made a proſperous Voyage; whatever we poſſeſs is juſtly your due, and we bring you this Teſtimony of our Gratitude.

I am extremely pleaſed to ſee you again, replied I, but will not forfeit the merit of what I have done, by accepting a Reward. You need not entertain ſuch a fear, anſwered he; but we have determined to make this annual Offering, that God may bleſs our Undertakings. I was now ſtill more reſolved not to accept any thing; but the Turk, more affected by my Refuſal, than I could have expected, ſaid to me, turning pale as he ſpoke, You certainly may refuſe if you pleaſe, but, depend upon it, we will not accept ſuch a refuſal with-

out placing ourſelves and our Veſſel, once more, in the ſame ſituation from which we were delivered by your means.

The manner in which he uttered this Expreſſion had ſuch an Effect upon me that I was forced to accept their Preſent; but ſtipulated it ſhould be the only one *(b)*.

The Grand Viſir had long deſired to ſee my Foundery, and I was employed in getting ready the new Train of Field-Pieces, which were much wanted by the Army, when that Miniſter was announced. The activity with which theſe Works were carried on enabled me to explain Particulars; and, when we came to the Forges, he ſeated himſelf on an Anvil.

We converſed, with much earneſtneſs, on the moſt important Subjects, while one of the Tchoadars, who attended him, in-

(b) This Anecdote, of the Gratitude of theſe men, ought not to be ſuppoſed to Characteriſe the Turkiſh Nation, any more than could a Single Inſtance of Ingratitude. The diſpoſition of a whole People muſt be judged of by their general Manners, which can only be known by carefully collecting individual Inſtances.

terrupted me, every moment, by requeſting a Gratuity. At length, tired of his importunities, and ſtill more offended that they were permitted by his Maſter, I thought to put an end to them by bidding him at leaſt to ſtay till our Converſation was ended. Yes, ſaid he, but he will go then, and I ſhall no longer have an opportunity to remind you of me. This Anſwer was inſolent enough, but it appeared ſo to me only. I gave him two ſequins, but was told there were a great many Attendants. I then gave him four, and the Viſir, who had ſaid nothing all this while, began again to aſk me queſtions, as before.

At length he returned to his Boat, after having diſtributed, by his Treaſurer, a hundred Sequins among the Workmen, beſides thoſe he gave my Domeſtics. I had accompanied him to his Boat, in which he had taken his ſeat, and the Rowers were juſt going to puſh off, when an Officer of the Artillery, who attended me every where, laid hold of the Stern of the Boat, ſtopped it, and demanded a Gratuity which he had not yet received. An Officer of the

Fleet, who waited on me in like manner, made the like requeſt. The Firſt Miniſter enquired of his Treaſurer why theſe two men had received no ſhare of the Diſtributions. The Claimants replied, becauſe they were walking before me. They continued their Solicitation, and the Viſir, from whom a ſingle look was ſufficient to make the boldeſt tremble, could not diſengage himſelf from their Importunity, but by giving four Sequins to each. How could I complain of his Servant, when mine were no leſs troubleſome?

This Firſt Miniſter, whoſe Character I have already drawn, only preſerved his Place by giving up the Reins of Government to the Reis-Effendi, who, ſubtle and reſerved, managed the public affairs with ſo much negligence that, talking one day with him, and the converſation turning on the Conqueſt of Conſtantinople, by the Turks, and the inſtability of the moſt powerful Empires, he aſked me where I thought an unſucceſsful War might carry them. Over the way, ſaid I. He immediately looked through the Window, and, after glancing

glancing at the Coaſt of Aſia, there are ſome pleaſant Vallies, replied he, turning to me, with a Smile: we ſhall build delightful Kioſks.

It is eaſy to judge, from this Anſwer, that Iſmael Bey, little affected by thoſe Misfortunes in which he did not immediately ſhare, principally endeavoured to get through the uſual Buſineſs, in the cuſtomary Manner, and took the Orders of the Grand Seignior as his Protection, in all matters of importance; regarding more the keeping his place than the doing his Duty. His connections with Iſed Bey had advanced him to and maintained him in his Poſt; and this latter, ſatisfied with his Maſter's favour, preſerved it without Intrigue, enjoyed it without Ambition, and, was anxious to do good, though not ſufficiently informed to know how it was to be done.

I was very intimate with the Favorite: he was the Inſtrument of Communication between his Maſter and me, and, by giving him an account of our Converſations, furniſhed me with the means of indirect Inſinuation, which I often uſed. It was

through him I was conſulted by the Emperor, whoſe views, becoming every day more extenſive, led him to think ſeriouſly of the Project of cutting through the Iſthmus of Suez. He was deſirous of adding, to the Knowledge I already poſſeſſed on that Subject, the information of ſeveral commiſſioned Inſpectors who had been in Egypt; and it will be ſeen, in the fourth Part of theſe Memoirs, that, if Muſtapha had lived to have undertaken this Work, he would not have found it difficult to execute a Deſign which muſt have produced vaſt Revolutions in the Policy of Nations.

He certainly did not poſſeſs the ſame Penetration, when, allured by apparent Advantage; he adulterated the Coin. One Tair-Aga, in favor with Muſtapha, during the beginning of his Reign, and appointed Superintendant of the Mint, had adviſed this erroneous Meaſure. Though I have no doubt but that, having better diſcovered his true Intereſt, had he lived till the Peace, there would have been a new Coinage. The Sacrifice which this required

required could not be expected during the War. Specie was neceſſary; the Treaſury began to be exhauſted; Money was continually coining, and the Silver Pieces reduced to the low value before deſcribed, loſing their Ductility, frequently, at the very firſt ſtroke of the Engine, broke the Dies; the Steel of which was as ill prepared as it was badly tempered.

This Inconvenience, which retarded, or rather intirely ſtopped, a Fabrication that would admit of no delay, required a ſpeedy Remedy. I was requeſted to point one out, and remembering that, with the Ignorant, it is neceſſary to ſeem to know what we do not, in order to preſerve the merit of the Knowledge we really poſſeſs, I undertook this Buſineſs, informed myſelf of its Principles, and ſucceeded ſo far as to prevent the Dies from flying.

While I was thus employed, the Workmen, who were intereſted in the deſtruction of the Dies, not able to make any other Objection, endeavoured to take advantage of the methods I employed to perfect their temper. They pretended that I only

I only made uſe of Urine inſtead of Water, for the pleaſure of defiling the Grand Seignior's Name, by dipping it in ſo impure a Liquid; and, after having ſpread abroad this ridiculous Report, they made a formal Complaint of it to the Grand Seignior.

It ſeems impoſſible that ſuch an Abſurdity ſhould be regarded; yet, ſuch is the force of Prejudice, the Grand Seignior himſelf thought it an accuſation worthy attention. Perhaps he imagined I ſhould be able to prove myſelf innocent of the Charge. He ſent me an Account of what was alledged againſt me, and requeſted me to make my Defence. The very Paper, on which my Accuſers wrote, ſupplied me with the means: confeſſing, therefore, the Fact, and the reſpect due to the Emperor's Name, I added, that it was not proper to pay it greater regard than was due to the Name of God, which was daily written on a ſubſtance made from Rags, left to ſteep in Filth. This Anſwer, at the ſame time that it perſuaded the Grand Seignior he had ſuffered no Inſult, was a ſufficient Ridicule of the Calumny.

The

The Sultan, not content with a few uſeful Improvements, which might remedy, for a time, the Vices that infeſted every Branch of Adminiſtration, was deſirous to extend Knowledge of every kind, and requeſted me to found, and direct, a Mathematical School. The Body of Mathematicians, inſtituted by Soliman, exclaimed againſt this Innovation, which ſeemed to accuſe the Muhendis (Mathematicians) of Ignorance, for whoſe Knowledge their Chief was ready to anſwer. His Highneſs ordered theſe Geometricians ſhould be previouſly admitted to an Examination, in the preſence of two of the Miniſters, appointed Commiſſioners for that purpoſe.

On the Day fixed for this buſineſs, we met, and, if theſe learned Men were not perfectly at their eaſe, I myſelf experienced no ſmall anxiety. My ſituation was certainly embarraſſing: I wiſhed to prove my Superiority, yet was fearful of humbling others, and muſt either offend my Vanity or my Delicacy.

The Aſſembly was compoſed of the Reis-Effendi, the High Treaſurer, the Sheir-Emini,

Emini, the Chief of the Geometricians, and ſix learned Men, choſen out of this Body, to defend its Honor. I was the Scare-crow of this Meeting, the Buſineſs of which was opened by Iſmael-Bey, in a Diſcourſe, diſplaying the Intereſt of the State, and the Will of the Sovereign; and, univerſal attention being excited, I was requeſted to begin my Examination.

I had long reflected on the ſubject, and having determined for the ſide of Moderation, modeſtly aſked their Chief what was the Value of the three Angles of a Triangle. I was requeſted to propoſe the Queſtion once more, and, all the Learned having looked on each other, the boldeſt among them replied, with firmneſs, It is according to the Triangle. I was ſtruck dumb with Aſtoniſhment; but muſt confeſs I had need to receive ſo abſurd an Anſwer, not to be aſhamed of my Queſtion.

To continue the Examination longer would have been needleſs. I contented myſelf with reſolving my Queſtion, and demonſtrating this mathematical Truth. The Ignorance of theſe pretended Mathematicians

was needed no Demonſtration; but I muſt do juſtice to their Zeal for the Sciences: they all requeſted to be received into the new School, and nothing was now thought of but its Eſtabliſhment.

I had gone to the Porte, to confer on ſome Particulars, relative to this Buſineſs, and the Viſir had referred me to the Mektoobchi, or Secretary. I found him buſy making out ſome Diſpatches, and ſat down on a Sofa till he had finiſhed. A Shek *(c)* of Mecca came and ſeated himſelf beſide me. This was one of thoſe Fanatics who, becauſe they were born in their Holy Land, think themſelves ſuperior Beings, inſult all temporal Authorities, and aſk Charity with Inſolence. I had often ſeen this ſame Man violently open the Door of the Viſir, place himſelf by his ſide, and never leave him till he had beſtowed a Piece of Gold, the only method by which he could get rid of his Company. This compliment he now

(c) A kind of Arabian Princes, Deſcendants of Mahomet, who attend the Holy Moſque, indulge themſelves in every ſort of Inſolence, and ſolicit Charity from the Great.

expected,

expected, and behaved himself in a very haughty manner. The Mektoobchi, who was not disposed to part with his Money, entered, while he was present, into every Particular relative to the new Establishment, and turned the Discourse on the various Undertakings in which I was concerned.

The Shek, who was very attentive, looked on me with Astonishment, and knew not how to reconcile my Habit with the Authority I seemed to have acquired. The Mektoobchi, having been sent for by the Visir, begged me to wait till he returned, and left me with this Shek, and a Secretary, who was writing at one corner of the Apartment.

The Silence we kept, for some time, was first interrupted by the Emir; the green Turban of the Shek shewing his relationship to the Prophet. Since you are so much employed in the service of the True Faith, said he, addressing himself to me, why do you not embrace it, and abjure those Errors which actions the most meritorious cannot expiate?

Scarcely

Scarcely had he finiſhed this Apoſtolic Harangue when the Secretary whoſe Pen dropt out of his hand, threatened he would go, directly, give an account to the Viſir of his Inſolence, and have him driven from the Porte. I interrupted the Secretary, and requeſted him not to be ſo warm, but to leave me to anſwer the Shek, who was ſomewhat diſconcerted by this Reprimand. I can eaſily imagine, ſaid I, to that pious Muſſulman, that you take every opportunity to propagate your Faith, and I thank you for accounting me worthy to embrace your Creed: but I think I can point out a Miſſion much more becoming your Zeal; and that is, the Converſion of a great number of green Turbans, who, like you, are related to the Prophet though they have little belief in his Law. Go, and convince them, and, when you have completed that good Work, return to me and I ſhall know better what to anſwer.

A loud Laugh, from the Secretary, covered the unfortunate Shek with Confuſion; and the Servants, who always liſten at the Doors, aſked him, as he went out, if he

was going to convert the green Turbans. Preſently all the Porte was acquainted with this Sarcaſm, and the poor Shek was aſhamed to be ſeen there any more. The Mektoobchi, informed of this Scene at his return, apologized for what had paſſed, laughed at my reply, and expedited the neceſſary Orders, for the Eſtabliſhment of the new School.

This School, principally intended to promote maritime Knowledge, was eſtabliſhed at the Arſenal; but none could be admitted except perſons old enough to ſerve thoſe views of preſent Advantage with which it was undertaken. Captains of Ships, with white Beards, and other Scholars of mature Age, left me no occaſion to forbid Playfulneſs, and boyiſh Tricks. I every day dictated the Leſſon in Turkiſh, each Scholar wrote it down in his Book, and I appointed one to repeat it to the whole School the following day *(d)*.

This

(d) This Method, of making Scholars Teachers of each other, might be practiſed, with Succeſs, in our Seminaries. Nothing is ſo well learned as what we

This method, by fixing the attention of my Scholars, cauſed them to make a very rapid Progreſs: at the end of three Months they were able to work, in the Field, all the Problems which reſult from the four Theorems of plane Trigonometry; which was as much of this kind of Knowledge as was required. It was only neceſſary to form a few Field Engineers, and ſome Seamen capable of taking an Altitude, ſteering by the Compaſs, and keeping a Ship's Reckoning. This was very ſufficient for Scholars ſixty years of Age.

I had agreed, with Sultan Muſtapha, that theſe Studies ſhould be perfected by Practice; and that two Frigates ſhould be fitted out, and conſtantly kept ſailing, within his ſight, in the Strait, which ſeparates Conſtantinople from Prince's Iſlands *(e)*. Their Method of Ship-building, likewiſe, ſtood in

we explain to another; and to make Vanity incite Induſtry will always inſure Inſtruction.

(e) This Project, which could only take effect after ſome Months teaching, was dropt on the Death of Muſtapha; whoſe Activity, alone, gave force to Miniſters, who were corrupt by the very nature of the Government.

great need of Improvement. I was aſked for new Plans, which I made haſte to furniſh; but no part of them was adopted, except the Decorations of the Stern. My Propoſition to lower the Decks was rejected, on account of the height of their Turbans; and that of raiſing the Maſt becauſe, as it would occaſion the Veſſel to heel, that would incommode the Crew.

Such were the Objections raiſed againſt both me and the Arſenal. I cannot doubt of theſe Abſurdities, nor oblige them to be believed. The Ship *La Ferme*, ceded to the Grand Seignior, could not produce an improvement in the make of the Tiller, becauſe Deſpotiſm, though it can deſtroy, cannot reform. We have already ſeen that the Eſtabliſhment of the new Foundery had not aboliſhed the old. The Funds intended for the Artillery were ſpent upon that; and it was with difficulty that the neceſſary Supplies were obtained for what was acknowledged to be much more uſeful.

The Body of the Geometricians had a certain Revenue, but the new School had no Encouragement; and, of all the new Eſtabliſh-

Eſtabliſhments, the Corps of Suratchis, alone, founded in Perpetuity, received the Sums appointed for its maintenance; but it has been already obſerved that this money was taken from ſome ſubaltern Knaves, who had not ſufficient Power to preſerve the fruit of their Extortions.

The Abuſes which prevailed in the Adminiſtration of maritime Affairs, being better protected, were with difficulty attacked; however, the exceſſive Expence of maſting a Ship, for want of a Machine, to raiſe the Maſts, of which I had often ſpoken, induced the Government to requeſt me to conſtruct one. It was determined to fix it by the ſide of the Careening Place. The Superintendant of the Marine had orders to furniſh me with the neceſſary Timber. I contrived a convenient Shed for my Carpenter, and fixed its height at one hundred and twenty Feet.

The badneſs of the Ground obliged me to make uſe of Piles in the Foundation; and, ſince the Solidity of my Work depended on it, I beſtowed a great deal of care on this Particular; which will appear leſs ſurpri-

ſing than the Reproach of the Admiral on my caſing the Piles with Iron. That, ſaid he, is throwing the Grand Seignior's Money into the Sea. He alſo objected to my uſing ſo many; however, his Highneſs did not think proper to ſacrifice, to ſuch paltry Oeconomy, the Solidity of a work, the Management of which he had committed entirely to me.

The Porte continued to encourage my hopes that an Eſtabliſhment ſhould be granted my mathematical Pupils, without which they could not devote themſelves to thoſe Studies; but nothing was done: and my young Scholars began to be weary of labouring, at their own Expence, and without any Proſpect. My repreſentations on this ſubject, however, procured, by the means of the Superintendant of the Coin, ſome Gold Medals to be ſtruck; with the Cypher of the Grand Seignior, on one ſide, and, on the other, an Inſcription relative to the School.

The Reis-Effendi was ordered to be preſent, at the firſt Examination, to diſtribute, to thoſe whom I ſhould nominate

theſe

theſe Medals, which were to be worn pendant from a Gold Chain, and to add the moſt poſitive Promiſes of Promotion and Fortune. This redoubled their Aſſiduity, and I ſoon had a Scholar ſufficiently inſtructed to repair to the Army; which, continuing ſtill at Babagdag, did not promiſe a Campaign more active than the former. We were, indeed, ſo accuſtomed to this Inaction that I never aſked the Miniſters any Queſtions concerning military Operations.

It ſhould ſeem, too, that, ſince I was entirely occupied with the buſineſs of the Arſenal, and the School, it would be ſtrange to enquire of me concerning what paſſed in the Army. Yet, one day, the Viſir aſked me, very ſeriouſly, whether the Ottoman Army was numerous. If, I replied, I wiſhed to know, I think I ought to aſk you that Queſtion. I am ſure I do not know, anſwered he. And how then ſhould I? By reading the Gazette of Vienna, replied he.

I was confounded; ſo many Abſurdities could not be counterbalanced by the improving Underſtanding of Muſtapha; and what was moſt unfortunate for this Empire

was, that this Prince, whoſe Health was declining, though his Activity ſupported him, at length died. He left the Throne to his Brother, the only remaining Son of Achmet, and who, having been confined ever ſince the death of his Father, was of a mild Temper, and naturally deſirous of Reſt, which he wiſhed to enjoy on the Throne, after having paſſed forty years in Fear and Solitude.

His firſt Employment was to go about his own Palace, where he was a Stranger, to open every Coffer he found, and diſtribute, to thoſe about him, whatever was moſt valuable. The Change he experienced in his Situation took effect, for a whole Year, on the moſt eſſential Intereſt of the Oriental Princes, whoſe Deſpotiſm ſeems only intent on the perpetuation of Deſpots.

The Ceremony of the Coronation has already been deſcribed, and the Acceſſion of Abdul-Hamid (Servant of God) afforded nothing remarkable, except his firſt Edict; in which, after the Form cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions, he enjoined his Miniſters to take

card of the new Eſtabliſhments of his Predeceſſor. The ſame reaſoning which had dictated this Phraſe determined him, no doubt to make his firſt excurſion to the School of Artillery; and the Miniſter, informing me I ſhould receive a viſit from him, at Kiathana, invited me to amuſe the new Sovereign in the manner I judged moſt proper.

The Mode in which I ſhould pay him Reſpect was alſo left to my own Choice; and, deſirous to fix his attention on the Addreſs of the Suratchis, I commanded a Detachment of that Corps to repair to Kara-Agatcha *(f)*, with a ſingle Piece of Cannon, and ſalute the Sultan, as ſoon as his Boat ſhould come in ſight, with twenty-one Diſcharges.

This had all the effect I could have wiſhed. The Grand Seignior, ſurprized at the Report of the ſecond firing, ordered his Boatmen to lay on their Oars *(g)* till the Salute

(f) A Palace of the Grand Seignior, ſituated at the entrance of the River of Kiathana, at the bottom of the Harbour.

(g) This is ſometimes done to ſhew reſpect to the Salute, but is never practiſed by the Sovereign.

was ended. This ſerved for a ſignal to draw up the Regiment in front of, and two hundred Paces diſtant from, the Kioſk which was to receive his Highneſs. As there were ſome ſmall Pieces near, belonging to the new School, I placed a Tartar to ſtand Centinel, who had ſerved among the Ruſſians, and knew the European Diſcipline too well to leave his Poſt.

The heavy Artillery, which I had pointed at a Mark, and loaded with Ball, gave twenty-one Diſcharges as ſoon as the Grand Seignior was ſeated. I continued near the Kioſk to receive his Orders, and remarked he beſtowed little attention on the old Gunners, but much on the Tartar, who, with his Bayonet fixed, remained immoveable by the ſide of the ſmall Pieces.

When the Salute was over, he ſaid ſomething to his Selictar, who directly came to me, to requeſt, on the part of his Highneſs, the Pardon of the Culprit, whom I had obliged to perform Penance; alledging that the firſt appearance of the Sovereign ſhould diſplay his Clemency. I immediately approached the Sultan, to aſſure him

that

that this Soldier, placed as Centinel, far from ſuffering Puniſhment, was only too happy to have excited, but for a Moment, the attention and concern of his Emperor; but if your Highneſs, added I, imagines him to ſuffer Puniſhment, that is ſufficient to deliver him from his apparently uneaſy Situation *(b)*; and, turning to the Tartar, I ordered him to rejoin his Colours. No, ſaid the Grand Seignior, let him remain; I did not mean, when I requeſted the Pardon of a Man I ſuppoſed an Offender, to diſpenſe with the Rules which you have eſtabliſhed; far from wiſhing to infringe, I am come to learn, and confirm them. A ſecond Order replaced the Centinel in his ſtation, and his former Immobility.

The Grand Seignior then deſired me to begin the Exerciſe, and, while I went to bring up the Regiment, his Highneſs, ſtill attentive to the Tartar, gave ſome Sequins, to one of his Pages, to carry to that Auto-

(b) The Turks pretend that what the Grand Seignior ſays muſt always be true. A Deſpot cannot be deceived, and his Slaves muſt contrive to validate whatever he imagines or aſſerts.

maton.

maton. Immediately the Page approaches, with a deliberate air, and, ſhewing him the Gold, See, ſaid he, what is ſent thee by the Shadow of God, the King of Kings, the Refuge of the World. Proſtrate thyſelf before him. Lay thoſe Sequins on the Carriage of that Cannon, and retire, anſwered the Centinel, ſtill continuing immoveable. How! Wretch, replied the Page, doſt thou not tremble before the Maſter of Blood *(i)*? He ſees and hears thee; perform thy Proſtrations. Do what I bid you, and begone, interrupted the Tartar.

The Page then obeyed, and went to give an account to his Maſter; who, no longer doubting but I had deceived him, ſaid to his Selictar, I told you that poor fellow was ſuffering a Puniſhment. You ſee he cannot even receive Money; but let us not ſay a word.

This ſuſpicion, however, was preſently overthrown; for the Regiment, directly coming up, took poſſeſſion of the Battery, and relieved the Tartar, who did not forget his

(i) This is one of the Grand Seignor's Titles.

Money,

Money, and ſhewed ſuch great Agility in the performance of his Exerciſe, that he again excited the Attention of Abdul-Hamid.

This Prince ſeemed to take great Pleaſure in ſeeing the expertneſs of the Gunners. I was obliged to make them go through their Exerciſe ſeveral times, that day; and, to give him the greater ſatisfaction, at the end of the Performance, one hundred and twenty Diſcharges were made, by each Piece, in leſs than eight Minutes. Different manœuvres of the Artillery, and ſome Bombs, fired at a Mark, finiſhed the Entertainment; and the new Sovereign appeared to prefer military Occupations, to thoſe various Amuſements which an impriſonment of forty Years might, very naturally, have made him more eager to enjoy.

It is, beſides, to be obſerved that Abdul-Hamid, on arriving at the Throne, was become incapable of the Enjoyments of the Harem. The Turkiſh Doctors, and European Phyſicians, who were conſulted on this Circumſtance, after having diſcuſſed its Origin, recommended to his Highneſs

to

to engage in every Amuſement which might baniſh all ſuch Ideas from his Mind, and thus deſtroy the Effect by removing the Cauſe. Frequent Excurſions, Muſick, and ſome Buffoonries, took up all the Attention of this Prince (D). His Favorites wiſhed to ſee the end of a War that engrofſed immenſe Sums, which they ſuppoſed they could employ to better purpoſe; and his Miniſters ſaw, with dread, the moment approaching when the Enemy would force them to accept the moſt humiliating Terms.

A common Boſtandgi, attached to Abdul-Hamid, during his Retirement, had become his Favorite on the Throne. Accuſtomed to perform inferior Offices, his Abilities were confined to mean Intrigue, to which, when in favor, he joined an Inſolence he could not before diſcover. The Viſir Caimakan was his firſt Victim; his Place was ſupplied by that Abdi-Pacha, ſurnamed *Kooyoodgy* (the Pitdigger) whom I have before mentioned, and whoſe Cruelty could find none but deſtructive means of reſtoring Order (E).

Iſed-Bey, whoſe mild and beneficent Character I have already deſcribed, was, in like

like manner, diſpoſſeſſed of the Place of ſuperintendant of the Coin, and degraded to the much inferior office of Sheir-Emini. I inſtantly went to viſit him, and teſtify my Regret, but my Friendſhip had ſoon reaſon to rejoice with him in his change of Situation. The Poor ſtill followed him, and crowded round the Door of his new Habitation, and his Degradation was more an Honor to him than a Diſgrace.

The new Viſir, choſen for the reputation of his Severity, was deſirous of acting up to his Character, by making the Court of his Palace the Place of the firſt Execution he ordered; and it was with ſome Difficulty he was brought to underſtand that there were certain Caſes in which even his will might ſuffer controul.

The ſuperintendant of the Foundery, which I directed, was ſoon alarmed with the Dread of becoming his Victim. One Day he arrived later than ordinary. Terror was painted in his Countenance, and it was with difficulty his Servants ſupported him. What has happened? ſaid I. What can have occaſioned your preſent diſorder?

I am

I am a loſt man, he replied; the new Caimakan has juſt aſſured me he will cut off my head, unleſs the Fifty Pieces, you are at work upon, are on the Road for the Army within two Days. What he demands is impoſſible, and it is out of your Power to ſave me. I pray God to preſerve you yourſelf from thoſe Calamities which will be the Diſgrace of our Empire.

The Agitation of the Naſir (*k*) was too great for him to liſten to Reaſon; but, as ſoon as he was ſomewhat recovered, I aſked him what reply he had made to the Miniſter. Reply! ſaid he: I took care not to anſwer a ſingle Word; for if I had, it would have been my laſt. If ſo, added I, every thing is well; lay aſide all Fear, and do as I direct you. Repair to him immediately, and tell him, very humbly, you have been with me to inform me of his Orders, and that I have received them in a manner you dare not relate; add, that on your repeated Requeſt that I would put them in execution, I had roughly replied, Your buſineſs was the Payment of the Expences only,

(*k*) Superintendant.

but

but that, in every thing elſe, the Miniſter muſt addreſs himſelf to me; in which caſe I ſhould know what Anſwer to return. By this means, added I, you will get clear of all Blame; and do not terrify yourſelf on my account, for I intend to give this Pit-digger of yours a Leſſon.

It was with great Difficulty I perſuaded Seid-Effendi to return into the Preſence of the Beheader of Men. His Fear, however, at laſt, produced ſufficient Courage, and I prevailed. On his return, I learned, that all the Rage of Abdi-Pacha was now directed againſt me. The Superintendant, having been queſtioned concerning me, had aſſured him that though moſt zealous for the Intereſts of the Grand Seignior, I untractable in every other Reſpect.

I was, indeed, determined to reſiſt every Procedure which ſhould appear unbecoming; and it was not long before I came into the Preſence of the Caimakan. He ſent one of his Mekters *(l)* to the Foundery, the

(l) This Name, which ſignifies Muſicians, is given to thoſe Tchoadars, or Footmen, principally em-

the next Day, ordering me to come to the Porte; and this Tchoadar, who, doubtleſs, had judged, from the manner of his Maſter, that his Diſpoſitions towards me were not very favourable, believed he might, by Anticipation, addreſs me with Familiarity, and take me by the Arm, while he executed his Commiſſion.

My Reply was a Blow with my Fiſt on his Breaſt, accompanied with an Order to puſh that Inſolent Fellow out of the Foundery of the Grand Seignior, whither he had dared to come and inſult me.

The Workmen, though Turks, haſtened to my Aſſiſtance, and drove the Meſſenger of the Viſir out of the Door. Terrified by ſuch a Reception, he proteſted his Innocence; and begged me, in a more polite manner, to come to the Porte, whither his Maſter had ordered him to conduct me.

I grant you your pardon, on two conditions, anſwered I: firſt, that you go, and

employed in carrying Meſſages. They belong to the Office of the Viſir, and their Perquiſites are ſufficiently lucrative to render their Places very deſirable.

no

no more ſet your foot within theſe Walls, and, next, that you relate to your Maſter every particular of your Reception, in order that he may recommend more circumſpection to thoſe he may hereafter ſend. I ſhall take great care, replied the Tchoadar, not to tell him a word of all you have ſaid. This Viſir is not quite ſo tractable as his Predeceſſors, and I muſt beg it as a Favour that you will come and ſpeak with him; God knows what may be the conſequence if he ſees me return alone. This, however, ſaid I, muſt be the caſe. I am in no humour to go to the Porte to-day; perhaps I may to-morrow. The Mektar, after many ſolicitations, not being able to prevail on me, was obliged to depart by himſelf.

My Naſir, who was a Witneſs of this Scene, aſked me what I expected from ſuch Conduct. Your Safety, replied I, and leſs Trouble to myſelf, in future. To deal with Abdi-Pacha he muſt be aſtoniſhed; this I will undertake to perform, and engage to render him as mild, to-morrow, as he appeared ferocious, yeſterday.

The day following I went to the Caimakan; but, as our Converſation might be warm, I thought it beſt to take the Dragoman of the Porte, as a Witneſs. By this means, alſo, I provided an Interpreter, to begin the Converſation; reſerving to myſelf the power of taking it up when I thought proper. The manner in which Abdi-Pacha began was, as I had foreſeen, brutal and imperious. Obſerving that I affected, while he ſpoke, to look any other way than towards him, he aſked the Dragoman of the Porte, whether I did not underſtand Turkiſh. He was anſwered in the affirmative. Why then does he make me no Reply? continued the Viſir. Becauſe, returned I, taking up the Diſcourſe, I have never ſpoken ſtanding to any of your Predeceſſors. Call the Maſter of the Ceremonies; he will inform you of thoſe Cuſtoms of which you are ignorant; otherwiſe, I ſhall take the liberty to teach you.

I then came forward, and, ſeating myſelf by his ſide, began a vague Converſation on his Journey, and Arrival. In the mean time, Coffee and Pipes were brought; and, after

after having ſufficiently repreſſed his haſte to ſpeak to me about the Artillery, by interrupting him, every inſtant, with Queſtions relative to the Court, I at length conſented to hear all he had to ſay on that ſubject. He then ſpoke in a very circumſpect manner, throwing all the Blame of his Violence on the preſſing Orders he had received from Babagdag *(m)*.

I have no Doubt, ſaid I, but what you had the Letter of the Grand Viſir *(n)* properly explained; but I muſt give you one piece of Advice, neceſſary for our mutual Quiet, and the Good of the Service. The Grand Seignior has appointed you to provide for the good Order and Supplies of the Capital; but depends upon me for whatever concerns the Artillery, and the different military Preparations. Let each of us at-

(m) A Town near Balkan, where the Ottoman Army was encamped for three years ſucceſſively.

(n) Abdi-Pacha-Caimakan could neither write nor read.

The Baron has called this Caimakan, or Deputy Viſir, firſt Abdi, then Haſſan, afterwards Muſtapha, and laſtly Kooyoodgy; but it was thought moſt intelligible and convenient for the reader to continue the firſt name. T.

tend to his reſpective Buſineſs. It is your part to aſſiſt me as much as in your power, and to inform your Maſter of my Requeſts and Obſervations, when I wiſh to convey them through that Channel. Your Predeceſſors, who were very ſenſible perſons, always conducted themſelves thus; and I muſt requeſt you, by their Example, to ſhew ſome Reſpect to Seid-Effendi. That Naſir is, indeed, ſo eaſy to intimidate, that to terrify him can do you no great Honor. I could not refrain laughing, continued I, at the Fright into which you had thrown him the day before yeſterday. He gave himſelf up for loſt; but I have diſſipated his Fears.

During this Harangue, the Caimakan looked on me with Aſtoniſhment. He complimented me on the fluency with which I ſpoke the Turkiſh Language; and, as he no doubt ſuppoſed the very ſight of him muſt inſpire Terror, he likewiſe praiſed my Courage, and ſaid, he imagined me to be a Soldier: after which I took my Leave.

Scarcely

Scarcely had I left the Apartment, with my Companion, who laughed in his ſleeve at the Leſſon I had given the Caimakan, before the Viſir called back the Dragoman. This Frenchman, ſaid he, appears to have Spirit, but he talks a great deal. Yet, I do not think, replied the Interpreter, that your Highneſs finds any thing he ſaid improper. No, returned Abdi-Pacha; what he ſaid is admirable; yet I muſt ſay he talks a great deal. After this little Dialogue, of which I was immediately informed by the Dragoman, I haſtened to aſſure the Naſir of his ſafety, and laugh with him at his Fears.

As ſoon as the Train of Artillery, and the Detachment of the new Corps, had ſet off for the Army, I was employed in caſting ſome Ordnance for the new Forts. The Grand Seignior, alſo, requeſted I would make two ſmall Models of Cannon, which he intended as a pious Preſent to the Tomb of the Prophet. He had juſt promoted his Favourite to the Dignity of Surra-Emini, whoſe Office it is to conduct Pilgrims to Mecca; but an appointment to this Place, conſidered as an Employment merely lucrative,

crative, can only prove the Decline of Favor, and the imprudent Avidity of the Favorite.

I went to him, to deliver the Offering I had been employed to prepare; and took this Opportunity to examine the different Preſents intended for the Temple of Mecca. He ſhewed me the green Silk, worked with Gold, which was to cover the Tomb. It is of an extraordinary Thickneſs; but, what is no leſs remarkable, is that, the Republic of Venice has contracted the Cuſtom of making this Preſent to the Porte, with every new Ambaſſador. Workmen are always employed for that purpoſe, which makes it perhaps too much reſemble Tribute (o) (F).

(o) There can be no doubt but the Liberty of giving or with-holding makes the difference between a Tribute and a Preſent. To eſtabliſh the Practice of giving the ſame Thing, at the ſame Times, is, in ſome meaſure, to acknowledge a Right; which Right will acquire more Force, when in favour of a People who have no Law but their Cuſtoms. The Study of the Manners of any Nation will always furniſh us with the firſt Elements of ſound Policy; which are very ill underſtood, when any ſuch Practice is eſtabliſhed, among thoſe who can boaſt they are free.

I was

I was afterwards ſhewn things fitter to amuſe Children than becoming of the grave Purpoſe for which they were deſigned. Theſe were ſeveral Camel-ſaddles, with little Kioſks on them; containing Repreſentations of different kinds of Labor; ſuch as Reaping, Mills, Bakers at work, and others. Several little Banners ornamented theſe Toys, which were to be borne foremoſt in the Proceſſion of the Holy Caravan.

While the Favorite ſaw, with Pleaſure, the Moment of his Departure approach, Umer-Effendi, High-Treaſurer, who had no occaſion to leave the Capital to advance his Fortune, had been able to ſecure its Enjoyment, notwithſtanding the Enemies he had procured by the Haughtineſs of his Manners. Their Intrigues had all been directed to remove him, by giving him ſome diſtant Employment; but it was reſerved to Abdi-Pacha to ſucceed in this Attempt.

Umer, called before him, and appointed Governor of a Province, endeavoured, in vain, to refuſe his new Dignity, by alledging it was too foreign to his former Occupation.

pation. The Viſir ordered the Turban deſigned for him to be put on him by force. The Treaſurer reſiſted this Violence for ſome Time, but was at length obliged to ſubmit to this ſtrange Method of Promotion.

Abdi-Pacha, however, ſoon became, himſelf, the Victim of his want of Moderation. The Complaints of the Profeſſors of the Law procured his Diſgrace, and Exile into Aſia; where, a ſhort time after, he was employed in the manner moſt ſuitable to his Character, by being appointed to free the Provinces from thoſe Robbers whom the War had rendered extremely numerous.

His Succeſſor was that Iſed Bey who, after his late Diſgrace, was advanced to the higheſt of Dignities, when he expected and deſired it leaſt. The thing moſt remarkable in his Promotion was that the Office of Sheir-Emini, which he filled, had never before been a Step to the Viſiriat. But the Neceſſity of oppoſing Firmneſs to Paſſion, Humanity to Barbarity, and Circumſpection

tion to Imprudence, was perhaps the true reaſon of this Choice.

The third Day after his Inſtallation I went to the Porte to pay him my Reſpects. He received me in the ſame affable manner as when in Diſgrace. I had placed myſelf on a Sopha, keeping a reſpectful Diſtance; and as it was not proper that what I had to ſay ſhould be heard by the Crowd, who were ſtanding before us, we leaned towards each other, and converſed in a low voice. He perceived this Attitude was inconvenient, and deſired me to come nearer; when, obſerving a kind of Reſtraint in my manner which he had not before noticed, he ſaid to me, aloud, How! my Friend; are you afraid to approach me? Then opening his Peliſſe, and ſpreading it on the Sopha, Sit down, ſaid he, on that Fur; that is your proper Place: though you have forgotten, it ought not to eſcape my Memory. The Multitude, who always act from firſt Impreſſions, directly exclaimed, with a kind of Enthuſiaſm, Long live our new Maſter.

The Negociations for Peace, which had been begun a conſiderable Time, were only retarded by the perſonal Apprehenſions of the Viſir, who commanded the Army. The Porte preſſed him to finiſh them, deſirous, at all Events, to put an end to the War. But it was certain that all the Blame of a Diſhonorable Peace muſt fall upon him, and his Life muſt pay for ſigning ſuch a Treaty. He therefore required an Indemnification, which was refuſed, under the pretence that it was not neceſſary, but, in reality, for the ſame reaſon that it had been demanded. The Miniſters, who thought of nothing but their own Security, treated the care which he took of his, as Puſillanimity; at length, his Wife, who was one of the Grand-Seignior's Siſters, put an end to the Conteſt. The Sultana wrote to her Huſband, that he need not fear to conclude the Treaty; and the Viſir, who was of a very advanced Age, died ſoon after he had ſigned the Peace and diſbanded the Army.

Iſed Pacha, who had before only poſſeſſed the Dignity of Caimakan, immediately received,

received, with the Seals, that of Grand Viſir; and the Turkiſh Government, again concentered in the Capital, ſoon relapſed into its former Abſurdities. The Eſtabliſhments which I had formed were, however, ſtill continued; but the Foundery, and the Schools of Artillery and Mathematics offering only a continuance of the ſame objects, without hope of Improvement, I determined to return to France, though not immediately to inform the Porte of a Circumſtance which they did not ſeem to deſire. I was even requeſted, when my Intentions were known, to nominate Vekils *(p)* to my different Eſtabliſhments. The Grand Seignior, when I took my Leave, cauſed a beautiful Peliſſe, of the Zibelin Martin's Skin, to be put on me. But I ſoon experienced a Separation by which I was much more ſenſibly affected.

The Veſſel that was to convey me to Smyrna, where I was to go on board a French Frigate, had already weighed anchor, and ſet her Sails, when ſeveral Boats

(p) Subſtitutes, Deputies.

came

came about us, and I ſaw myſelf ſurrounded by all my Pupils, with each a Book or an Inſtrument in his Hand. Before you leave us, ſaid they, with much emotion, give us, at leaſt, a parting Leſſon: it will be more deeply impreſſed on our Memories than all the reſt. One opened his Book to explain the Square of the Hypothenuſe; another with a long white Beard elevated his Sextant to take an Altitude; a third aſked me Queſtions concerning the uſe of the ſinical Quadrant; and all accompanied me out to Sea, for more than two Leagues: where we took leave of each other, with a Tenderneſs the more lively, as it was with the Turks unuſual, and to me unexpected.

END of the THIRD PART.

MEMOIRS

OF

BARON DE TOTT.

PART THE FOURTH.

HAVING obſerved the Character, Manners, and Government of the Turks, in the Capital of their vaſt Empire, it remained for me to Viſit the diſtant Provinces, to examine the different Nations which they contain, and diſcover the variations which the diſtance of the Deſpot neceſſarily produces in Deſpotiſm.

The abuſes which had crept into the different Eſtabliſhments of the French Commerce, in the Levant, ariſing more from

a contrariety of Laws than inobſervance of Regulations, determined the Government to cauſe the maritime Towns to be inſpected; and I was entruſted with the Commiſſion.

The Frigate Atalanta, commanded by the Baron de Durfort, was ordered to be got ready for my conveyance; and the Count and Counteſs de Teſſé, the Duke d'Ayen, and the Count de Meun, whom the ſame Frigate was firſt to carry into Sicily, being arrived at Toulon, we ſet ſail the 2d of May. At the heights of Cape Corſa, we found a ſettled Eaſt wind, and M. de Durfort reſolved to put into Genoa, from whence we ſailed a few days after, and landed our Paſſengers at the place of their deſtination.

We then continued our Voyage to Malta, where I acquitted myſelf of a Commiſſion I was charged with to the Grand Maſter; and we proceeded to the Iſle of Candy, at which I began my Inſpection.

This Iſland, the ancient Crete, which in ſome meaſure ſeparates the Archipelago

pelago from the Mediterranean, is formed by a long chain of Mountains, extending from Weſt to Eaſt; and may be conſidered as a continuation of thoſe which, from the North of the Adriatick, paſs over the Morea, and appear again in Cataunia, where they join Mount Libanus.

The Iſland of Crete, celebrated by the Poets of the moſt remote Antiquity, ſtill offers its famous Labyrinth to the curioſity of Travellers. It likewiſe claims to itſelf the true Mount Olympus, the poſſeſſion of which is diſputed with it, by the Coaſts of Europe and Aſia *(a)*; but pious Fictions, which ſucceed each other, have ſubſtituted, to theſe Monuments of Paganiſm, the Grotto of

(a) There are two other Mountains of this name; one in Aſia Minor, at the foot of which is ſituated the famous City of Burſa; and the other in Europe, in the Gulf of the ancient Theſſalonica. This laſt, near which is a ſmall Valley, ſtill called the Valley of Tempe, ſeems to have the beſt right to the Title; but no preference is to be given to either of theſe Mountains, from their Appearance.

St. Margaret *(b)*, beyond doubt, more worthy the veneration of the modern Greeks, and more proper to engage the attention of the Natural Philoſopher. The Mountains, ſtanding thick together on the South-ſide, render this Iſland almoſt inacceſſible towards the Mediterranean, whence the North-ſide derives all the advantages of Culture, of which a bad Soil can be ſuſceptible. It is, likewiſe, to the excellence of the Climate, only, that it owes the richneſs of its Productions, exchanged by the Inhabitants for Corn, which the Country does not afford. Oil is the principal Article of their Commerce, and the fabrication of Soap their principal Art; which is, nevertheleſs, brought to ſo little perfection that, notwithſtanding the neighbourhood of the Conſumer, they ſuffer our Traders to export the greater part of their Oil, to furniſh with it the Soap-

(b) This Grotto is principally remarked for the quality of the Stalactitæ which it contains, and the varieties of them which it affords.

houſes

houſes at Marſeilles, and to carry a conſiderable quantity to Conſtantinople. (G) The wild Olive-Trees, which I found on the eaſtern and inhabited part of this Iſland, are plainly indigenous; which may likewiſe be affirmed of the Laurel-Roſe, that ſhades and ornaments all the Valleys, producing a Vapour believed to be deadly, to thoſe who ſuffer themſelves to be overtaken by Sleep. The Country is covered with Orange and Citron-Trees, the fruits of which are preferable to thoſe brought from Malta and Portugal. The Muche-muche, of the Apricot kind, and the ſize of the Mirabella *(c)*, but more delicate than the beſt fruits of that ſpecies, ſeems to belong only to Candy, which produces the moſt valuable Plants.

This Iſland, a long time in the poſſeſſion of the Venetians, but taken from the Republic by Sultan Solyman, who ſucceſſively ſtripped it of its principal Domains, preſerves the Fortreſſes, which could not defend it, and which, now, ſerve only

(c) A kind of Plumb.

for an Aſylum to its Oppreſſors, without being able to reſiſt the ſlighteſt foreign attack; while the Inhabitants, in the narrow Defiles, and barren places of the Mountains, contend, by their Robberies, for an Independence which the Cultivator of the Land never enjoys.

The three Cities, Candy, Cana, and Retimo, are the Seats of the three Pachalika, into which the Ottoman Government has divided this Iſland. The firſt, who enjoys the title of Seraſkier, has pre-eminence over the other two, and all three ſtrive which ſhall moſt oppreſs this unhappy Country. The Turkiſh Soldiery, to which the Candiot Greeks have allied themſelves, by frequent Marriages by Capin *(d)*, has often ſet bounds to Oppreſſion, by riſing againſt the Oppreſſors; but theſe ſame Greeks always take advantage of their relationſhip to the Janiſſaries, to become Oppreſſors themſelves, more dangerous to their Neighbours, and conſtantly unpuniſhed.

(d) An account has been given of theſe Marriages in the Preliminary Diſcourſe.

At the ſame time that this mixture, of Anarchy and Power abuſed, extends itſelf all over the northern Coaſt, a Band of Robbers, eſtabliſhed in the Mountains, preſerve Order among themſelves, repulſe every Attack, and cover the Sea with Pirates. This kind of Republic has for its Allies the Maniots, its Neighbours; and they mutually aſſiſt each other; while the weakneſs of the Turks can afford no ſuccour to Humanity, groaning under the Depredations of theſe Plunderers.

The height of the Mountains, in Candia, the barrenneſs of ſome, and the nature of the Vegetables which cover others, are among the leaſt proofs of their containing Minerals. Every appearance ſhews there have been Volcanos, now extinct; ſeveral Mountains have their Cratera, and I found, near Cape Solomon *(e)*, a ſmall Iſle,

(e) It is ſituated at the moſt eaſtern point of the Iſland, and forms, with Cape Sidera, the Iſland Morena, and five other ſmaller ones; it is the Anchoring-Place of Paloa Caſtro; (in Greek, the Old Caſtle.) During the late War, an Engliſh Privateer, which had ſeized on this Poſt, and placed Centinels on the

Iſle, of white Marble, covered, in part, by a Bed of Lava.

After our departure from Candia, the Frigate anchored under cover of that Iſland, and we ſet ſail, the beginning of June, for Alexandria. The Winds, which, at this Seaſon, blow almoſt conſtantly from the North-weſt, without being ſtrong enough to cauſe a high Sea, enable Navigators to calculate the exact time of their arrival in Egypt. I obſerved, during the courſe of this Voyage, a Vapor, which the Wind drove before us, and which reſiſting the attraction of the Sun, and growing thicker every day, formed itſelf into foggy Clouds, on our approach to the Shores of Egypt. Theſe were announced to us, by the appearance of Pompey's Pillar, before we could diſcover the Land; but we preſently perceived the Caſtle of Pharos, and, after having doubled the Dia-

two Capes, to give notice of the approach of any Veſſels, from the North or South, very much incommoded the French Trade.

mond,

mond *(f)*, the Frigate anchored in the New Port of Alexandria. I diſpatched an Expreſs the ſame day, to the Conſul at Cairo, to inform him of my Arrival, and requeſt the Government to furniſh the means for my Paſſage up the Nile, to the Capital. The Vice-Conſul of Cairo, accompanied by four Merchants and an Aga of the Mamelukes, arrived, the 11th of June, in the morning, from Roſetta, where he had left the Boats which had brought them, and which the Shek-Elbelet had ſent to convey me to Cairo. The miſunderſtanding which began to break out among the Beys *(g)*, and, above all,

(f) This is the Name of a Rock, about half a Cable's length from the point of Land on which the Pharos is built, and which ſeparates the two Harbours of Alexandria.

(g) The four-and-twenty Provinces, into which Egypt is divided, are governed by as many Beys: the firſt Bey has the command at Cairo, and is honoured with the Title of Shek-Elbelet, or Prince of the Country. When aſſembled they conſtitute a Divan, at which a Pacha, of three Tails, preſides, in the Name of the Grand Seignior. The Narration in the Text will preſent a Picture of this Government, tyrannical

all, the departure of Murats *(b)*, who with ſome Troops, had quitted the Capital, under pretence of ſubduing the Arabs of Sharkia, but, in reality, to oppreſs Egypt, rendered this precaution neceſſary to my ſafety. We ſet out for Roſetta, on the 12th, in the evening, in order to ſhun the violent heat, during a journey of twelve Leagues. Our little Caravan conſiſted of thirty Paſſengers, mounted on Mules, and we baited at Maadia, which is half way. This reſting-place, for Travellers, is built in a part of the Country formerly cultivated, but, long ſince, abandoned to the inundations of the Sea, the barrenneſs which that produces, and the depredations of the Arabs. We left it ſome hours after, and by Day-break diſcovered the Tops of the Palm-Trees, and points of the Minarets of Roſetta, and, after paſſing through part of the City to the Banks of the Nile, on

rannical in its Origin, and only become more monſtrous by being enfeebled.

(b) One of the twenty-four Governors, and he, whoſe Power, at that time, ſeemed to preponderate.

which

which it is ſituated, we enjoyed the aſtoniſhing Proſpect which, on the oppoſite Shore, is preſented by the Iſland of Delta.

I embarked, in the evening, with thoſe who accompanied me, on board the Felucca of the Shek-Elbelet. This Veſſel, the Stern of which was covered by a large Awning, contained a Bed-chamber, and an Apartment furniſhed with Sofas. Another Boat accompanied us, which carried our Servants, and in which our Proviſions were cooked: this came along-ſide of us at meal-times. Thus, by the aſſiſtance of the Winds, which drive back the Waters of the Nile, we ſailed up that River to Cairo; where we arrived the third Day, in the Evening.

A Janiſſary, ſtationed by the Conſul, in a Boat below Boolac *(i)*, to watch our coming, ſhewed us a Landing-place, at which we were provided with proper Conveyances to the Conſul's, where we arrived at the cloſe of the Evening.

(i) A Town on the Banks of the Nile, where it is convenient to land whatever comes to the Capital, to which it is a kind of Suburb.

Iſed-

Ifed-Pacha, that old Favourite of the Grand Seignior's, whoſe character has been already given, was then Pacha of Cairo; and, being informed of my arrival, ſent to compliment me the next day: the Shek-Elbelet alſo did me the ſame kindneſs, preſſing me to make him a Viſit as ſoon as poſſible. I did not immediately ſee the Motive of this Solicitation, and anſwered him that, however informed I might be of the reality of his Conſequence in Egypt, I could not allow myſelf to neglect reſpecting the Power of the Grand Seignior, in the Perſon of the Pacha. The Bey ordered his Maſter of the Horſe, and the Officers of the Police, to prepare every thing to expedite my Viſit to the Governor.

The Conſul had told me, as ſoon as I alighted, that the Shek-Elbelet, informed of my arrival, and preſuming I ſhould land in the Day-time, had prepared a great number of Officers and Saratches, in order that I might make a public Entry, which would have been ſo much the more diſtinguiſhed as, notwithſtanding the right of mounting a Horſe is reſerved to the

Beys,

Beys, and great men of the Empire, ſeven Horſes had been prepared for the uſe of thoſe by whom I was accompanied. The care I took to arrive late only ſerved to retard the troubleſome Ceremony I was obliged to undergo, in my way to the Caſtle of Cairo, where the Pacha, always the Priſoner of the Beys, nevertheleſs, repreſents the Perſon of their Sovereign. The Curioſity of the common People was ſuch that the fear they might be expected to have had of the two rows of Saratches, who preceded me, did not hinder their preſſing upon me, as I paſſed; and the blows which the Soldiers dealt freely about them, for no other reaſon but to make themſelves merry, as they went along, could not prevent the Multitude from waiting my return, at the Gate of the Caſtle. I there found the Pacha, encompaſſed with all the Pomp of the Viſiriat; he received me with the ſame Ceremonies which are cuſtomary at Conſtantinople; but our former acquaintance inclining us to a more familiar confer-

ence, he ordered the Hall of the Divan to be cleared, for a time, of the Throng by which it was filled: when, informing me of the Diſcontents exiſting among the Beys, ſure preſage of a Revolution, he explained the reaſon of the Shek-Elbelet's anxiety to have the preſent Viſit over. Nevertheleſs, he was not allowed time to receive me; for ſcarcely had I returned home, in the ſame order in which I had been conducted to the Caſtle, before the oppoſite Party, having broken out into Sedition, the reigning Beys thought of nothing but ſeizing on the Fortreſs, the poſſeſſion of which is productive rather of a civil than a military Advantage; for it puts it in the power of him who can obtain it to diſpoſe of the orders of the Grand Seignior, by forcing the Pacha to iſſue them, with a Piſtol at his Breaſt. A Firman, therefore, immediately appeared, by which the Inſurgents were condemned to Baniſhment; but theſe, little regarding vain Formalities, and firing their Pieces on their Enemies, compelled them, after a

few

ſews days ſkirmiſhing, more noiſy than bloody, to fly towards the upper Egypt.

Some Mamalukes of the victorious Party, advanced to the dignity of Beys, ſupplied the places of the Fugitives, and, the ſtate of Public Affairs once more appearing tranquil, I went to Giſa, to paſs a few days, and viſit the Pyramids, which are only four Leagues diſtant.

The Soil of Egypt, its Commerce, its Government, and its Monuments, which ought to be conſidered as the moſt ancient Annals of the World, are Particulars too deſerving of attention to be confounded with the hiſtorical relation of my Voyage; and I ſhall reſerve the Remarks I have to make, on theſe Subjects, to preſent them in one View.

The Arabs, who were to conduct us to the Pyramids, made us ſet out at Midnight, and we alighted near thoſe enormous Maſſes at Day-break. Thoſe who accompanied me were eager to enter them; but, leſs curious to be informed of their interior Structure, already ſufficiently known by the Plans which

have

have been given us by M. Maillett, and other Travellers, all agreeing in their Relations, I employed the little time I had to make Obſervations and Reſearches, which appeared, to me, to have been, till then, neglected.

On approaching the Sphinx, of which I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere, the Arabs, who attended me, made me obſerve the opening, which one of the Beys of Egypt had cauſed to be cleared, to a certain depth, of the Sands with which it had been formerly filled. They added that the Wickedneſs of that Undertaking, the deſign of which was to penetrate into the Aſylum of the Dead, did not go long unpuniſhed, but that the Bey loſt his life in the laſt Revolution. Nevertheleſs theſe ſcrupulous Arabs daily traded in Mummies, and met with no harm; but the project of the Bey would, without doubt, have been detrimental to this Traffic; and every Dealer aſpires to a Monopoly.

On my return to Giſa, where I had employed myſelf in taking a Drawing of the Iſland of Rhoda, the Nilometer, and

Old

Old Cairo, ſituated oppoſite, I accepted the offer of a Coptic Merchant, to go to his Houſe, on the other ſide, and take a Deſign of Giſa and the Pyramids. While I was thus buſied, a large body of Cavalry paſſed, on full ſpeed, under our windows; other Troops followed, and the firing of Piſtols was heard on all ſides. The Tumult increaſed, the Maſter of the Houſe barricadoed his Doors, and we preſently learned, from the Janiſſary who accompanied us, that the Flame of Rebellion, concealed for ſome days, had broken out, that morning, in the Aſſaſſination of three Beys; and that a fourth, to ſhun the ſame fate, had fled, with the remains of his Party, to join his Adherents in Upper Egypt, while the victorious Purſuers did their utmoſt to hinder their Union. We ſaw, at the ſame time, a large armed Felucca, ſtationed in the middle of the Nile, to prevent the Fugitives from avoiding the Proſcription, by eſcaping to the Coaſt of Lybia. A ſtranger to this quarrel till then, I finiſhed my Drawing, and, the Diſturbance ſeeming over, embarked

to return to Giſa, without foreſeeing any Obſtacle; but ſcarcely had our Boatmen begun to handle their Oars, before a ſcore of Mamaluke Horſe, coming up, on full gallop, preſented their Pieces, and threatened to fire on us, if we did not inſtantly land. We immediately obeyed the Command, and learned that one of the Beys was at Old Cairo, appointed to take charge of the Navigation of the Nile, along which he had forbidden any Veſſel to paſs. I objected, in vain, that he could not mean to include mine in the Interdiction; all the anſwer I could obtain, from theſe Gentlemen, was the muzzle of their Carbines. I ſent a Merchant, who was with me, to negociate this affair with the Bey himſelf, who, we were told, was ſitting at the corner of a ſtreet, not very diſtant. He appeared, at firſt, much ſurpriſed, on being informed I was at Old Cairo; and when he knew I came there to take ſome Drawings, objected, with no little reaſon, that I might have choſen a better opportunity; but my Ambaſſador having replied, with at leaſt as much

much propriety, that it was impoſſible I, in the morning, ſhould foreſee they would be pleaſed to cut each others throats, he at length, with ſome excuſes for what had paſſed, obtained an Order to ſuffer me to continue my Journey. In the mean time, an Officer belonging to the Bey, ſtole ſome Pipes from us; yet were we obliged to take this Officer on board, under pretext of defending us from the Inſults of the Felucca, but, in reality, to extort a reward for this pretended Service. At length we arrived at Giſa, where I entirely employed myſelf in preparations for my return to Alexandria.

The Nile, of which I had obſerved the increaſe, had ariſen to the height which permits the opening of the Canal of Trajan. Public Criers, appointed to inform the People of the daily increaſe of the River, had juſt proclaimed the Feſtival of the Arooſſa *(k)*; but, notwithſtanding theſe Preparations, and thoſe which were made to purſue the Fugitives, I obtained of the

(k) The Feſtival of the Bride.

Shek-Elbelet, the means of returning to Alexandria, and re-embarked on board the ſame Boat in which I came; to perform a Journey, ſo much the more agreeable, as the elevation of the Waters afforded us a proſpect of, at once, the richeſt, and moſt populous Country in the World.

Anxious of knowing, circumſtantially, what appeared ſo beautiful and intereſting in the whole, I collected, with care, all the Information I could procure on the Government, Population, Manners, and Commerce of this Nation. The ſprightlineſs and good humour of the Inhabitants, near the Banks of the Nile, induced me to cultivate their acquaintance; but as the very aſpect of the Mamalukes, who wiſhed to accompany me, would have put them to flight, I took care they ſhould remain on board, and went among them with Europeans only. I have often enjoyed the Pleaſure of gathering together theſe Villagers, and confirming myſelf, by their anſwers to my enquiries, in the Opinions

ons I had formed, and which I am now about to lay before my Reader.

Egypt, ſituated in the eaſtern Angle of Africa, extends from the Mediterranean Sea to Abyſſinia, and comprehends the ſpace included between the 31ſt and 23d degrees of Latitude, extending to the City of Suenna, near the Tropic, below the Cataracts of the Nile.

This River, the Sources of which are not known *(l)*, receiving all the Streams with which Abyſſinia and Ethiopia are abundantly watered, deſcends into Egypt, which it croſſes from South to North, to about

(l) A Traveller, named Bruce, it is ſaid, has pretended to have diſcovered them. I ſaw, at Cairo, the Servant who was his Guide and Companion during the Journey, who aſſured me, that he had no knowledge of any ſuch Diſcovery. It may, perhaps, be objected, that a learned man, like Mr. Bruce, was not obliged to give an account of his Diſcoveries to his Valet; but, in a Deſart, the Pride of Celebrity vaniſhes. The Maſter and Servant diſappear, and become only two Men neceſſitated to aſſiſt their mutual wants; the only ſuperiority is poſſeſſed by the ſtrongeſt; and the Servant I have mentioned, born in the Country, would certainly have corroborated Mr. Bruce's Aſſertions, in a Diſcovery purely topographical.

four Leagues below Cairo, where, dividing itſelf into two Branches, it forms the Iſland, ſo celebrated and well-known by the name of Delta: it is, likewiſe, only to the extremity of this Iſland, which the Egyptians name in Arabic Batn-el-Bacara, (the Belly of the Cow) that the Plains, on each ſide the Nile, ſhut in by the higher Grounds, are capable of Cultivation; for the River can no further extend the Treaſures which its Waters laviſh on the Lands they inundate.

The Mountains, four Leagues from the Nile, and facing Cairo, are only a ridge of Rocks of forty or fifty feet high, and divide the Country from the Plains of Lybia. This Ridge accompanies the courſe of the River, at a greater or leſſer diſtance, and ſeems as if only intended to ſerve as a Bank to the general Inundation. The moſt mountainous part of Arabia is that which lies on the Borders of the Red Sea, and already aſſumes the rocky nature generally obſervable on maritime Coaſts.

At the ſummit of the angle of Delta, the Rocks of Lybia, and the Coaſts of Arabia open, and recede from each other, towards the Eaſt and Weſt, parallel to the Mediterranean. This great extent of Country, from the Kingdom of Barca to Gaza, is either inundated by the River, or, at leaſt, capable of being ſo; and this periodical Inundation, in a Country where it ſcarcely ever rains, and which the heat of the Climate and the very nature of the Soil ſeem to have devoted to perpetual Drought and Sterility, is, without doubt, a moſt ſurpriſing Phænomenon. But, if we inveſtigate the Mechaniſm by which it is effected, we ſhall perceive that even Europe contributes to it, by pouring, on Abyſſinia and Ethiopia, the Exhalations with which our Climates abound. Periodical Winds, from the Northweſt, blowing regularly in the Months of June, July, and Auguſt, drive before them foggy Clouds, which, without depriving Egypt of the Sun, convey, into Abyſſinia and Ethiopia, thoſe Vapors that condenſe there, and enter, by a hundred Channels,

into the Nile, which ſpreads them over Egypt, together with the Mud with which its Waters load themſelves in their Progreſs.

It is to be remarked that, though this Water becomes thick, by waſhing the clayey Soil over which it paſſes, it appears, when drank, as light and limpid as the cleareſt; the Egyptians themſelves believe it nouriſhing, and ſay, whoever drinks of their River will never remove to any great diſtance from its Banks.

The divine Honours which the ancient Egyptians paid to the Nile, and for which the Plenty it occaſions may be ſome Juſtification, are, in a manner, ſtill preſerved under the Mahometans; they give this River the Title of Moſt Holy; they likewiſe honour its increaſe with all the Ceremonies practiſed by Pagan Antiquity.

The progreſs of the Inundation is obſerved at the Nilometer, ſituated at the ſouthern Point of the Iſle of Rhoda, oppoſite Old Cairo. Public Criers, diſtributed in each quarter of the Capital, every day,

day, make known to the People the riſing of the Waters, till they are come to the height proper for opening the Canal, by which they are conveyed to the middle of the City, and the Ciſterns. But this moment cannot be aſcertained with preciſion, becauſe Superſtition prevents the Eye of Curioſity from approaching the graduated Column, placed in the center of the Baſon of the Nilometer. The Cry of Oof-Allah, which ſignifies God has kept his Promiſe, proclaims the opening of this Canal. Children, bearing Streamers of different colours, accompany the Crier, and diffuſe a general Joy at the certainty of Plenty.

Sultan Selim, after having conquered Egypt, gave it Laws, eſtabliſhed a new form of Government, and decreed that this Kingdom, now become a Province of his vaſt Empire, ſhould be only liable to a Tribute then when the increaſe of the Nile ſhould be ſufficient for opening this Canal: as, in fact, it is only then that the Waters ſuffice for the wants of Agriculture. This is what takes place every Year; but it is not merely

merely this degree of increaſe that yields the greateſt plenty. To produce that, the Waters muſt reach the foot of the Mountains, and then it is, that the Criers proclaim *Minel-Dgebel il-el-Dgebel,* (from one Mountain to another.)

It was, without doubt, to provide againſt thoſe Years when the Nile does not overflow a great part of the Country that the ancient Sovereigns of Egypt cut ſo many Canals, the principal of which are ſtill kept in order, but the greater part neglected, and, conſequently, one half of Egypt deprived of Cultivation. Thoſe which convey the Water to Cairo, into the Province of Fayoom, and to Alexandria, are moſt attended to by Government. An Officer is appointed to watch this laſt, and hinder the Arabs of Bachria, who receive the ſuperfluous Waters of this Canal, from turning them off before Alexandria be provided, or opening it before the time fixed, which would hinder the increaſe of the Nile. That which conveys the Waters into Fayoom is watched in like manner, and cannot be opened before

that

that of Cairo, which is called the Canal of Trajan.

The ancient Egyptians had the barbarous Cuſtom of ſacrificing a young Girl to the Nile, when the Waters roſe to a ſufficient height for opening this Canal. They called her the Aroofſa, or the Bride. And the Name and Ceremonies of this ſanguinary Feſtival are ſtill preſerved; though the Caliph Omar has rendered it more humane, by ſubſtituting a Pillar of Earth, which repreſents the Victim, and is thrown into the Nile. The principal Inhabitants of Cairo appear, at this Ceremony, in their Gondolas, richly ornamented; and it is always ſucceeded by Entertainments and Fire-works.

A number of other Canals, only taken care of by thoſe who derive Advantage from them, iſſue from that Arm of the Nile which runs to Damietta, and fertilize the Province of Sharkia, which, making part of the Iſthmus of Suez, is the moſt conſiderable of Egypt, and the moſt capable of a great increaſe of Cultivation. The Plains of Gaza, which lie beyond, and are poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed by the Arabs, would not be leſs fertile, if the Spirit of Devaſtation did not deſtroy even the ſpontaneous Productions. A number of other Canals run through the Iſle of Delta, many of which are navigable; and that of Manoof communicates with the two Branches of the Nile, ten Leagues below the angular Point, called the Belly of the Cow. This Canal begins at Nadir, and not at Gueſeid, where d'Anville has placed the mouth of it; and croſſes the Province of Manufia, the Culture of which may be compared to a well managed Kitchen-Garden. The Map of this celebrated Geographer appears to me, in other reſpects, as exact as it is poſſible to make it, in a Country where the Government would not allow an actual Survey, and where the Land is too flat to afford any Point from which an Obſervation can be taken.

The whole Country of Egypt is, indeed, ſo low, that, at a diſtance, it is only to be diſcovered by ſome riſing Grounds, formed by the Ruins of ancient Alexandria, and the prodigious height of Pompey's Pillar;

Pillar; the whole Coaſt is a plain, ſo that, three Leagues off at Sea, nothing is to be perceived but ſome Palm-Trees, which ſeem to riſe out of the Water. It is not, however, merely to this flatneſs that it owes the periodical Inundation by which it is watered.

We have already ſeen that the conſtant Winds, from the North-Weſt, driving the Miſts of Europe over Abyſſinia, blow in the direction of the Nile; and we may perceive that, by forcing back the Waters of that River, they become the principal cauſe of its overflowing. Having arrived at its height, about the middle of September, the wind, then ſettling in the South, concurs with the natural courſe of the Nile, to facilitate the draining of the Waters; and, at the ſame time, collects the ſurplus of Clouds, no longer uſeful in Abyſſinia and Ethiopia, to carry them towards the Sources of the Euphrates; where the ſame Phænomenon, of a periodical Inundation, enriches Meſopotamia, immediately after that of Egypt.

At

At that time, a Column of Clouds is ſeen to croſs the Red Sea, towards the Iſthmus of Suez, paſs along Syria, and gather round Mount Ararat, whilſt the ſame ſettled wind, in the Gulph of Perſia, compreſſing the Waters of the Euphrates, procures to Meſopotamia, by the ſame means, the ſame advantages which Egypt enjoys.

This meteorological Obſervation, in my reſearches concerning which I have been ſcrupulouſly exact, may every Year have its Truth aſcertained, in a Country where the clearneſs of the Heavens renders all ſuch remarks leaſt liable to Error.

All the Deſcriptions of Egypt have, hitherto, agreed to conſider the Mud, which the Water acquires, during its increaſe, and, at length, depoſits on the inundated Lands, as a Manure by which they are fertilized. No vegetative Quality, however, is diſcoverable, in analyzing it, before its union with the Sand; which, together with Clay, compoſes the Soil of Egypt, mixt in the ſame proportion as they are in the manufacturing of Pottery.

This

This Mud, likewiſe, is only waſhed off by the Nile from its two Banks, with the clayey part of which it becomes loaded. Its lightneſs, together with the motion of the Waters, keep the Particles ſuſpended; till, at length, the ſandy part ſinks down, and appears, in heaps, after a decreaſe of the Inundation. Theſe the Induſtry of the Huſbandman turns to his Advantage, tempering the dryneſs of the Sands with Pigeon's Dung, and the Seeds of Water-Melons, which he ſows in it; and gathers an abundant Harveſt, before the returning Floods again deſtroy theſe Fields, and form others in their ſtead.

The whirling of the Waters, which produces theſe Variations, reſults neceſſarily from the double effort of the Stream and the Wind, acting againſt each other; but the Nile is, notwithſtanding this Agitation, ſo eaſy to confine, that many Fields, lower than the ſurface of the River, are preſerved, during its increaſe, from an Inundation deſtructive to their Productions, merely by a Dam of moiſtened Earth, not

more than eight or ten inches in thickneſs.

This method, which coſts the Cultivator but little trouble, is made uſe of to preſerve Delta, when it is threatened by the Flood. This Iſland, which annually produces three Harveſts, is continually watered by Machines, conſtructed on the Nile, and the Canals cut through it; but it rarely is in danger of being overflowed; and this rich part of Egypt, which extends to the Sea, would be ſtill leſs affected by the ſwelling of the River, did not the Wind, blowing a long time in one quarter, raiſe the Waters of the Mediterranean towards the South.

It is proper to obſerve, that Delta, more elevated than the reſt of Egypt, is bounded towards the Sea by a Foreſt of Palm-trees, called the Foreſt of Berelos, the Land of which is much higher than the higheſt riſing of the Waters; and this topographical Remark is ſufficient to deſtroy the Syſtem of the formation of Delta by

by Sediment. A Country which riſes higher than the higheſt Inundations can never owe to them its origin. Such Sediment could only occaſion the Diviſion of the two Branches of the Nile; but neither this circumſtance, nor the Exiſtence of the Iſland which ſeparates them, deſerve ſo much attention; and M. Maillet might have ſpared himſelf the trouble of reviving the Syſtem of Ephorus on this Subject, which ſeems not to have met with any regard from his Cotemporaries.

The Veſtiges of the Canals, which watered the Provinces weſtward and eaſtward of Delta, prove them to have been the beſt cultivated of any part of ancient Egypt. We may alſo preſume, from the extent of the Ruins of Alexandria, the conſtruction of the Canal, and the natural level of the Lands which encompaſs the Lake Mareotis, and extend themſelves weſtward to the Kingdom of Barca, that this Country, at preſent given up to the Arabs, and almoſt a Deſert, was once ſufficiently rich in Productions, of every kind, to furniſh the City of Alexandria with its whole Subſiſtence.

It may be obſerved, with reſpect to the Situation of the Canal of Alexandria, that, at the ſame time that it ſupplied the City with Water, and facilitated its Commerce, it muſt, as it paſſed along the upper part of the cultivated Lands, on the left-hand of the Nile, have contributed to their fertilization; while a Dyke, conſtructed at Bekers *(m)*, kept the Sea within its bounds, to add to Egypt a large Tract of Country, which reached to the Suburbs of this immenſe City, at preſent reduced to an inconſiderable Town, built on the new Iſthmus, which has formed itſelf between the two Ports, and joins the Iſle of Pharos to Terra-firma.

This Capital of the Commerce of the Univerſe, condemned long ſince to be merely the Receptacle of what is brought for the home conſumption of the Country, ſeems to be ſhut out from its own Walls; but we cannot ſurvey the extent and magnificence of its Ruins, without reflecting

(m) A ſmall Sea-port ſituated between Alexandria, and Roſetta.

that

that the moſt certain means of Grandeur only have a value proportionable to the Genius of the Age, and the abilities of thoſe by whom they ſhould be employed.

Egypt, happily ſituated to extend its Commerce over Europe, Africa, and the Indies, wanted a Harbour. It was neceſſary it ſhould be large, and eaſy of acceſs; the mouths of the Nile offered none of theſe advantages; the only Port which was upon the Coaſt was twelve Leagues from the River, in a Deſert, and would not have been perceived but by a Genius bold and ſublime. A City was to be built, and he deſigned the Plan. To what a degree of Splendor did he raiſe Alexandria, even in its very Infancy? He joined it to the Nile by a Canal, at once navigable and uſeful to Cultivation; it became the City of all Nations, and the Metropolis of Commerce. His name honours theſe Aſhes, which barbarous Ages have heaped up, and which only wait to be tempered by ſome beneficent hand, to form a Cement for the re-con-

ſtruction of the moſt noble Edifice the human mind has ever conceived.

The rocky bottom, which extends along the Coaſt of Egypt, proves the Iſle of Pharos to have been formed by the Ruins of Alexandria; and that the Shallow, which ſeparates the two Baſons, has been cauſed by the Rubbiſh driven thither by the Sea. The new Shore likewiſe confirms the truth of this Obſervation; and the rolling of the Waves continually diſcovers a number of Stones, which have Inſcriptions on them, and are certainly part of the remains of this ancient City.

Its Ruins afford us, at every ſtep, a teſtimony of its former ſplendor; and the figure of a Macedonian Cloak, which its Boundaries reſemble, by recalling to the memory its illuſtrious Founder, ſeems to have excited veneration, even from the Barbarians, in their different pillagings of this City. The ſame Walls which defended its Induſtry and Riches ſtill defend its Ruins, and preſent us with a maſter-piece of ancient Maſonry.

Some

Some Hiſtorians pretend theſe have been built by the Saracens, inſtead of the old ones, which they deſtroyed; but though the hand of thoſe Barbarians may be diſcovered in ſuch parts of it as they have repaired, and which are equally deſtitute of Elegance and Regularity, it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe they conſtructed the Walls which ſeparate Alexandria from Necropolis; that would be no leſs abſurd than to attribute to them the erecting of Pompey's Pillar.

This Monument, the Object and Founder of which are equally unknown, ſituated near the Canal, between Necropolis and the Walls of Alexandria, muſt have been placed in the Suburb which, Authors affirm joined the Lake Mareotis. It may be conjectured, from the Fragments of roſe-coloured Granite, and above all, from the ancient Foundations which ſurround this Column, that it ſtood in the middle of ſome place of Traffic. But, without carrying our Reſearches beyond the Bounds preſcribed by the obſcurity of ancient Times, what is ſtill to be ſeen of

this great Work, is ſufficient to inſure our Admiration.

I ſhall not repeat the Deſcription given of it by M. Maillet, and other Travellers; but ſhall confine myſelf to remarking that this enormous Maſs, placed on a Stone, leſs by the one half than the Stilobates, which reſts centrally upon it, has only been ſuſtained, during ſo many Ages, by the preciſe adherence of the two Planes, and the perfection of their horizontal Section. This Support, more nearly examined, by means of an Excavation made in the rough ſtones which ſeem to ſuſtain the Baſe, proves to be a piece of Granite, ſunk to a greater or leſſer depth in the calcareous Rock on which the whole is conſtructed: and we might be led to imagine, from the Hieroglyphics which appear upon it, that ſome Fragment of an Obeliſk had been made uſe of, as a Foundation; though, perhaps, it is more natural to ſuppoſe theſe Characters contain the Hiſtory of the Column.

Its perfect uprightneſs, which I have juſt remarked, leaves no doubt but the Stilobates,

Stilobates, the Baſe, the Shaft, and the Capital have been perpendicularly placed on each other; but it is not ſo eaſy to conceive the means employed to raiſe this ſame Shaft, a ſingle piece of red Granite, of the Corinthian Order, the Module of which is above four feet. This could not be effected without the aſſiſtance of the Crane; and may again lead us to believe that ſome imitation of the Crow, of Archimedes, had, in Egypt, preceded ours: which is no more ſurpriſing than to find, under the Lava of Mount Veſuvius, the repreſentation of the Plane and Vice of our Joiners.

This Monument is not the only one in Egypt, the boldneſs of which aſtoniſhes Travellers: Cleopatra's Needle, no leſs difficult to erect, will not allow us to attribute the great Works which are found in ſuch profuſion, in the higher Egypt, to the Arts of Greece. We may even obſerve, in the Capital of Pompey's Pillar, a rude imitation of the Leaves of the Acanthus, manifeſtly the Performance of Hands more accuſtomed to move theſe

vaſt Maſſes than to handle the Chiſſel of Phidias.

The Sculpture of the Egyptians is without delicacy, except in the Hieroglyphicks. Theſe abound on the four ſides of Cleopatra's Needle. Its Baſe, concealed by the quantity of Ruins, will not permit us to form a judgment of its point of Reſt; but an examination of a like Needle, thrown down, and broken, near the firſt, ſhews them to have been both placed on four Cubes of Bronze. It may be perceived, likewiſe, that theſe two Obeliſks, placed on a line with two Wings of a vaſt Pile of Buildings, at equal diſtances, were the Ornaments of what appears, by its Ruins, to have been a Palace. It has been ſuppoſed to be that of Cleopatra. I diſtinctly ſaw, in a Rotunda, tolerably well preſerved, and, above all, in ſeveral Dungeons which ſurround it, the Tribunal of Juſtice, and was aſtoniſhed at the preſervation of the Plaiſter which covers its Walls.

Still leſs equivocal Marks indicate the principal Square of Alexandria. Several Columns,

Columns, two of which are placed in the middle of one of its ſides, and oppoſite a prodigious Maſs of ruined Vaults, point out the Entrance of the principal Temple, and leave no doubt but it belonged to Jupiter Serapis. If the Spirit of Deſtruction were not always idle and ignorant, theſe precious Remains would ſooner diſappear: I have ſeen the Barbarians, who poſſeſs them, employed in cutting off pieces of the Pillars, to make Mill-ſtones; and have had the ſatisfaction to find their labour rendered uſeleſs, by their want of ſkill.

Though this may tend to preſerve heavy Maſſes, the Statues cannot eſcape that Avarice by which they are diſcovered; yet the Arabs never ſell them to the Europeans, till they have ſatisfied their Fanaticiſm, by the mutilation of theſe pretended Idols. The ſmall profit they derive, from this Traffic, happily diſcourages them from ſearching the Ruins, and reſerves this precious Depoſit for Poſterity.

That Suburb of Alexandria which joins the Necropolis, and that other, the Streets of

of which are ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed in the Plain, leading to Roſetta, contain, without doubt, many Riches, buried under their Ruins. The open Square of Necropolis *(n)* is covered with Hillocks, which invite us to ſearch for the remains of Temples and Monuments, raiſed by the ſuperſtitious Piety of the ancient Egyptians. I viſited, with care, the Catacombs of this City, the burying-place of Alexandria; and, though they cannot be compared to thoſe of the ancient Memphis, which the Arabs will not permit to be viſited, in order to make the better market of their Mummies, it is probable that, the method of embalming being the ſame, the form of theſe Catacombs can only differ in their Proportions.

It is to be obſerved that, Nature not having furniſhed this part of Egypt with a ridge of Rocks, like that which runs parallel with the Nile, above Delta, the ancient Inhabitants of Alexandria could

(n) The City of the dead: this name is formed from the two Greek words, Νεκρος, dead; and Πολις, a City.

only

only have an Imitation, by digging into a Bed of ſolid Rock, and thus forming Necropolis.

This Excavation, from thirty to forty feet wide, two hundred long, and twenty-five deep, is terminated by gentle Declivities at each end. The two Sides, cut perpendicularly, contain ſeveral Openings, about ten or twelve feet in width and height, hollowed horizontally, and which form, by their different Branches, ſubterranean Streets. One of theſe, which Curioſity has diſencumbered from the Ruins and Sands, that render the Entrance of others difficult or impoſſible, contains no Mummies, but only the places they occupied. The Order in which they were ranged is ſtill to be ſeen. Niches, twenty inches ſquare, ſunk ſix feet horizontally, narrowed at the bottom, and ſeparated from each other by Partitions in the Rock, ſeven or eight inches thick, divide into Checkers the two Walls of this ſubterranean Vault.

It is natural to ſuppoſe, from this diſpoſition, that each Mummy was introduced

duced with the feet foremoſt, into the Cell intended for its reception; and that new Streets were opened, in proportion as theſe dead Inhabitants of Necropolis increaſed. This Obſervation, which throws a light on the Catacombs of Memphis, may perhaps likewiſe explain the vaſt Size and Multitude, as well as the different Elevations, of the Pyramids, in the higher and lower Egypt. I ſhall proceed to the examination of thoſe of Giſa, to draw ſuch Concluſions as appear to me moſt probable.

I have already ſaid, they are conſtructed on the Ridge of Rocks which is the Boundary of Lybia. Two of theſe Pyramids differ but little in their proportions; and the third, only of three hundred feet, has never excited any attention. The largeſt, each ſide of the Square of the baſe and height of which is ſix hundred feet, permits the Curious to examine the inſide of this vaſt Pile.

The Conſul Maillet, who has given us its deſcription, accompanied by very exact Views and Plans, ſays it has been violated; but

but the ſtrange manner in which he ſupports this ſuppoſition, by the pretended Damage done to the Layers of Stone, which are imagined to have concealed the Entrance into the Galleries, through which, at preſent, there is a Paſſage, quite up to the Sarcophagus, in the center of this Monument, is no real demonſtration of ſuch Violation. On the contrary, it appears certain that this Pyramid has never been ſhut.

In fact, neither Avarice nor Curioſity could endeavour to damage it, without making ſeveral attempts, of which no traces are to be found; and, when none of the Sides of the neighbouring Pyramids have the leaſt ſigns of any ſuch opening, how ſhould this have been ſo readily found? Why ſhould the inferior Layers, which were no Obſtacle, have been taken away? How came the projecting Stones (o) ſo remarkably well preſerved? Why ſhould not the Baſſo-relievo, placed under

(o) PIERRES D'ATTENTE: *Projecting Stones to continue the Building.* T.

the

the Key of the Vault, and the perfection of the whole Work have ſuffered by the ſame Violence? Maillet, to ſupport his Hypotheſis, enters into a particular Detail of the Labour he ſuppoſes neceſſary; and furniſhes the Egyptians with complicated means of ſecurity, which the enormous ſize of ſuch Maſſes, and, ſtill more, the pious Superſtition of this People, render needleſs to prevent the Violation of theſe Aſylums, which every thing engaged them to reſpect.

The exactneſs of this Writer would leave us nothing to wiſh, with regard to the deſcription of the inſide of this Monument, if his Reſearches could have penetrated into the Well, which deſcends, perpendicularly, in the Center of the Pyramid, and of which he has only marked the opening. Different Attempts to deſcend into it, rendered fruitleſs, either by the inſufficiency of the means employed, or the timidity of thoſe by whom they were made, have ſtill left a wide Field for Conjecture; and, as it cannot be diſcovered to have had any real utility, may well be ſuppoſed to have been

been a myſterious Paſſage. This Idea, compared with the Opinions concerning Death, entertained by the ancient Egyptians, will acquire more weight by the following Obſervations.

The principal of theſe is, the relation which the upper Tombs bear to the lower. Each Pyramid has its Catacombs; the ridge of rocks, cut with the Chiſſel, the length of fifty Fathoms, perpendicular to the ſummit of the firſt Pyramid, and parallel to its horizontal Face, preſents many openings, of which one, lateral one, is hollowed in ſuch a declined direction that a Perſon cannot deſcend into it, without being let down by Ropes, even though the Arabs ſhould permit it to be entered. There are likewiſe other openings, ſtill ſhut, by long Stones full of Hieroglyphics and Baſſo-relievo.

One only of theſe openings, through which the Arabs get the Mummies, in which they trade, is ſecured by a wooden Door; and the entrance into this Cavern is guarded by an Arab, who lodges there; but, notwithſtanding the kind reception I

met

met with from him, I could only obtain permiſſion to look through a Window, which he has doubtleſs made himſelf, and could perceive nothing but a vaſt Vault, where the ſight is loſt in obſcurity, and the direction of which correſponds to the Baſe of the Pyramid.

If we ſuppoſe it to contain different Branches or Streets, ſimilar to thoſe at Necropolis, with height and extent proportionate to the City of Memphis, we may eaſily conceive its wonderful Dimenſions.

Another Obſervation, no leſs important, is, that the Pyramids are inconteſtibly of the ſame Rock; and there are not wanting thoſe who affirm, the Catacombs were the Quarry, whence the Stones were procured.

If we add, to theſe Remarks, the neceſſary Effects of the Prejudices of a People whoſe life ſeemed employed in thoughts on Death, will it not appear probable that, at the commencement of every King's Reign, the Inhabitants of Memphis ſhut up the laſt Catacombs, and opened new ones;

ones; that the Stones, procured by this Excavation, were reſerved for the Mauſoleum of the Sovereign then on the Throne; that the duration of his Reign aſcertained the Proportions of the Edifice they were to erect? Nothing more was neceſſary, to raiſe ſuch Monuments, than to place theſe Stones, which are all of the ſame ſize and ſhape, in a pyramidical Form, as ſoon as the Calculation of their number had given the extent of the firſt Layer, which formed the Baſe. It may likewiſe be conjectured that the Well, I have mentioned, deſcending to the loweſt Tombs, gave the Sovereign the means of communication with all his Subjects, who had died in his Reign; which muſt certainly tend to inſpire him with a moſt deſirable and never uſeleſs Wiſh, of being beloved by them during life.

Thus might the Chronology of the Kings of Egypt become ſubject, in a degree, to mathematical Calculation: for, by taking the mean duration of Life, in a given Population, and the Proportions of the ſums of the Stones of the Catacombs, the length

of the Reign of one of the Pharaohs, and the height of his Monument, would be ſufficient to find the duration of every other Reign.

Thus conſidered, all Ideas of Oppreſſion, Slavery, or Tyranny, which the ſight of ſuch ſtupendous Buildings might otherwiſe inſpire, diſappear. We ſhould then only look upon them as the laſt Compact between the Sovereign and the Subject: and, if we recollect the ſeverity of the Tribunal, where every deceaſed Perſon received a Trial before his Interment, we may imagine we perceive the motives for opening the grand Pyramid of Giſa; nor ſhall we be able, without veneration, to behold thoſe which are ſhut.

If the Materials of which the Pyramids are compoſed ſuggeſt this Suppoſition, it will be farther confirmed by a more careful Examination. The Canal of Joſeph, the Works in Upper Egypt, the famous Lake Mœris, and the Canals which ſtill enrich the Lower Egypt, are Monuments, the exiſtence of which is as certain as that of the Pyramids. How can we then ſuppoſe theſe latter

latter the Work of Tyranny? Have the Benefactors of the human Race ever been their Oppreſſors? And among a People intirely employed concerning their Interment, to which they never were admitted, unleſs they were accounted worthy, can it be ſuppoſed that any kind of Oppreſſion was exerciſed in the conſtruction of their Sepulchres *(p)*?

The Stones, which compoſe the Pyramids, are from ſeven to eight feet in length, three in height, and four in breadth; every Layer retreats three feet, and has a Coating of a foot thick. The Coating of the firſt Pyramid is totally deſtroyed, on which account it is eaſy to aſcend to the top; though it cannot be doubted but that this ſlant Coating was at leaſt prepared, when we obſerve the Priſms of Granite, which are ſtill ſcattered round it. I have even found one, in which the Hypothenuſe had been cut, to ſerve for one of the Angles of the Pyramid.

(p) We do not mean, by this, to contradict what the Holy Scriptures teach us, concerning the Oppreſſion which the Iſraelites ſuffered in Egypt; and the Labours to which they were condemned.

This Diſcovery might have ſpared M. Maillet the pains which he has taken to find the quality of the Coating by the Cement. It would likewiſe have prevented his falling into the Error of miſtaking ſome parts of the calcareous Rock for fragments of white Marble. It may be preſumed that the Priſms, which ſtill cover the upper part of the ſecond Pyramid, will be broken off, merely for the pleaſure of ſeeing them roll down. Such motives muſt have produced the Deſtruction of thoſe which are wanting; the ſlighteſt effort is ſufficient for that purpoſe, and Wantonneſs of this kind is not in habits of Self-denial.

Oppoſite this ſecond Pyramid, a little before the Rocks, we ſtill ſee the famous Sphinx, which is much more celebrated than it deſerves. This, in reality, is only an angular ridge of Rock, extending to the main Bed, in the direction of the center of this Pyramid. They have given it the form of a Sphinx, and opened, in its back, two ſquare Wells, to ſerve as Entrances into the Catacomb; and hence the guard-

ing

ing of the Tombs ſeemed intruſted to this kind of Monſter.

It likewiſe appears probable that a Temple was added to each Pyramid and its Catacomb; though, at preſent, we can only diſcover their Ruins, notwithſtanding their care to erect them with ſuch enormous Stones. I have meaſured ſome of them which were twenty-two feet long, ſeven in height, and nine in thickneſs, the joints of which were, nevertheleſs, perfectly united.

If we reflect that the moſt ancient Writers ſpeak of theſe Edifices in the ſame manner as we do at preſent, at what period of Time can we date the Conſtruction of ſeveral great Pyramids, weſt of thoſe at Giſa, a few Layers of which only remain?

I ſhall ſay nothing of the ſmall Tombs, which are ſcarcely to be perceived; but I cannot take leave of theſe Monuments, without mentioning a ſtrange Deception in their appearance at different Diſtances; it may ſerve to give ſome idea of the

height of theſe Maſſes, which is not to be conveyed by any Compariſon.

I have already ſaid that I ſet out, at Midnight, from Giſa, with the Arabs, who were to conduct me to the Pyramids. We directed our route by keeping theſe prodigious Edifices, which ſeemed like ſo many mountains, continually in view. Being arrived at a Village, which had hid them a moment from our ſight, they re-appeared, on leaving it, ſo large and ſo near that I thought I could touch them. I was even deſirous to alight, but the Guides aſſured me they were ſtill a full League off. In fact, we continued to ride on, near three quarters of an hour, at the end of which the Pyramids ſeemed ſo much leſſened, that I alighted from my horſe, a hundred paces from the firſt, as much ſurpriſed to find it no higher as I had been before at its enormous ſize. But I preſently found it magnified again on my nearer approach; and theſe Contrarieties, in its Appearance, made me curious to diſcover the Cauſe. For this purpoſe, I removed to the diſtance of ſix hundred paces from the

the Pyramid, along the Plane horizontal to its Baſe; I then turned about, and, this point of View giving me its greateſt apparent Elevation, I remarked that, at this Diſtance, its perpendicular height filled the Angle of the viſual Rays in ſuch a manner that, on a nearer approach, this ſame Angle, which I ſhall compare to the two legs of a Compaſs, could only embrace a part of the Object, and that at the diſtance of a hundred paces I could ſcarcely diſcover a third: to which the ſenſation I experienced muſt be attributed.

It follows, from this Obſervation, that each Elevation, which exceeds the Chord of the two viſual Rays, appears greater, and each which does not fill them leſs, than it really is. This Principle might be uſefully applied to public Buildings, if the beſt point of ſight were to regulate their Proportions *(q)*.

Though

(q) The Colonade of the Louvre has apparently increaſed in Size ſince the pulling down of the Houſes, which forced us to view it too near. It would certainly have the beſt effect if it could be ſeen on a line

Though the buſineſs I had to tranſact did not permit me to viſit the Plain of Mummies, I yet procured certain information that the Sands, which cover it, preſerve their property of drying dead Bodies. The Rock beneath ſerved, at the ſame time, as the burial-place of Luxury.—— May we not conclude that this Plain, which cannot be overflowed, and, on that account, is as uſeleſs to the Living as favourable to the Dead, ſerved for a Cemetery to the little Towns and Villages of Egypt, which by their ſituation might uſe it for that Purpoſe?

The People of the Country aſſured me that the funeral Monuments in the Thebais are innumerable, and ſurpaſs, in magnificence, thoſe of Memphis and Alexandria. They added that there were ſtill to be

with St. Germain l'Auxerrois, but would loſe by being ſeen at a greater diſtance. For the ſame reaſon, *La Place de Louis XV.* ſhould be proportionate to its diſtance from the Road to Verſailles; and we feel a regret, on ſeeing St. Genevieve, from the *Rue St. Jaques*, that ſo beautiful a Copy of the Antique ſhould not have been proportioned by the boldneſs of its Models.

ſeen

ſeen Temples, with Columns of red Granite, as large as that of Pompey; and that the Paintings within are not leſs remarkable.

It cannot be doubted but what the higher Egypt contains alſo amazing Treaſures, buried under its Ruins. It is not long ſince a Copt diſcovered an Urn, filled with Gold-medals, of which he ſecretly melted down a great number; but an Engliſhman had the good fortune to procure about a hundred, ſome of which are now in the King of France's Cabinet.

We muſt not ſuppoſe that ſuch an Example, by exciting the Avarice of the Inhabitants, can ever become deſtructive of theſe Remains of Antiquity; the dread of the Extortions which would certainly follow ſuch Diſcoveries will always reſtrain thoſe who might be inclined to attempt them.

Among the various Labours, by which Ancient Egypt has been rendered illuſtrious, the Canal of communication, between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, would deſerve the firſt place, if the Efforts of

Genius, in favor of public Utility, had been ſeconded by ſucceeding Generations, for whoſe uſe it was intended; and if Undertakings, which muſt promote the good of Society, were as durable as the Prejudices which tend to its Deſtruction. Yet ſuch is the Abridgment of all Hiſtory; it offers no other Picture of every Nation, and of every Age. Without theſe continual Devaſtations, Geography would have governed the World; the advantage of Situation would have dictated immutable Laws, and the Canal of the Red Sea would for ever have been the Baſis of the Rights of Nations.

Ill-founded Prejudices, which will always prevail over the moſt accurate Obſervations, have cauſed the exiſtence of this Canal to be doubted, and even its poſſibility denied; yet that there really was ſuch a Canal is atteſted by Diodorus Siculus; and, whatever we may think of that Author, we certainly have no right to reject the Facts of which he declares himſelf to have been a Witneſs. The account he gives

gives of it, in his Univerſal Hiſtory *(r)*, is as follows:

" A Canal of communication has been " cut, which paſſes from the Gulph of " Peluſium into the Red Sea. It was be- " gun by Necos, ſon of Pſametichus, " and continued by Darius, King of " Perſia, but at length laid aſide by the " advice of ſome Perſons, who aſſerted " it would lay Egypt under water, be- " cauſe the Land was below the level of " the Red Sea; Ptolemy the Second, " however, finiſhed the Undertaking, but " conſtructed in the moſt convenient part " of the Canal, a Dam, or Sluice, inge- " niouſly contrived, which opened to give " Paſſage, and immediately cloſed again; " on that account the River, which diſ- " charges itſelf into the Sea, near the " City of Arſinoe, has received the name " of Ptolemy."

It is plain, from this Paſſage, that the Sluices ſtill exiſted, in the time of Diodorus. The Radier which ſupported them

(r) Diod. Sic. p. 20. *Edit. Hen. Steph.* 1559. *T.*

is

is ſtill to be ſeen; it was diſcovered near Suez, at the entrance of the Canal, which ſtill remains, and which might eaſily be rendered navigable, without employing Sluices, or endangering Egypt with Inundations *(s)*.

Nothing can indeed juſtify the Fears of the Engineers of Darius, even though they had taken their level when the Sea was higheſt. It is no leſs important to know that all this part of the Iſthmus affords a Land very favorable for ſuch an Excavation, through the ſmall ſpace of twelve Leagues, which ſeparates the Arabian Gulph from the Arm of the Nile which approaches it, and afterwards falls into the Mediterranean at Tineck.

After having ſurveyed theſe Monuments, which, by their ſize and antiquity, ſeem

(s) Sultan Muſtapha, who began to make great Improvements, employed me in ſome Preparations for this important Buſineſs, the finiſhing of which he intended after the Peace, when he propoſed to correct the Vices of his Government. I think it probable this Prince would even have ſacrificed his own Deſpotiſm, had he outlived the unfortunate Accidents which paved the way for the ruin of the Empire.

rather

rather to belong to the whole World than Egypt in particular, let us examine the actual State of this Kingdom.

If we conſider it in relation to what conſtitutes the real Power of a State, the Politician will, perhaps, look with a kind of contempt on this great Metropolis of the World, this Nurſe of every Science and every Art, now become a Province of the feebleſt of all Empires. But the political Philoſopher will conſider it in a light more worthy of his attention, ſhould he diſcover, in the Climate, Production, and Population of Egypt, the means by which it has been rendered ſo celebrated. Thoſe Advantages which Ages cannot deſtroy, and which have reſiſted the greateſt Revolutions, will appear to him preferable to ſuch as, like chymical Compoſitions, are to be decompoſed by the contrary Proceſs to that by which they were produced.

Such have been, no doubt, thoſe Kingdoms, the memory of which has been preſerved by Hiſtory, though Geography can now ſcarcely point out the Situation of their Capitals. We ſhall perceive that,

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in Egypt, the greateſt Kings endeavoured to acquire Fame, by Labours uſeful for the cultivation of the Country; with theſe they appeaſed that thirſt for Glory which, among other Monarchs, was perpetually productive of Violence and Rapine.

If ſo prodigious a Lake as that of Mœris may be ſuppoſed to be formed by the hands of men, the utility of this immenſe Reſervoir would be the greateſt Monument of the Beneficence of the Pharaohs; but ſhould the extent and depth of this Lake leave ſome doubt, as to its origin, none can be entertained with regard to that of the Canals of Joſeph, or Trajan, that of Alexandria, or thoſe of Delta: they are viſibly the Work of human Induſtry.

The facility with which the Country is watered leaves no part of it uncultivated; and the richneſs of the Soil, by multiplying the Harveſt, maintains and animates Population. There is no Country to be found in which it is more remarkable than in Egypt. Delta, the Provinces of the Eaſt and Weſt, and all thoſe on each Side of the Nile, quite up to the Tropic, are

are populous to an amazing Degree. I have been told that there are more than nine thouſand Villages and twelve hundred Towns in Egypt. It is very certain they are ſo near to each other that, having ſtopt at *Mentoobes*, below *Fooa*, I reckoned forty-two within ſight; the fartheſt of which was not two Leagues off.

Wherever the Inundation can reach there Habitations are erected, on little Hills, raiſed for that purpoſe, which ſerve for the common Foundation of all the Houſes, which ſtand together, and which are contrived to take up as little room as poſſible, that they may ſave all the Ground they can for Cultivation. This Precaution is neceſſary to prevent the Waters waſhing away the Walls, which are only of Mud.

The Villages are always ſurrounded by an infinite number of pointed Turrets, meant to invite thither the Pigeons, in order to collect their Dung. Every Village has, likewiſe, a ſmall Wood of Palm-Trees near it, the property of which is common: theſe ſupply the Inhabitants with

with Dates for their Conſumption, and Leaves for the fabrication of Baſkets, Mats, and other things of that kind. Little Cauſeways raiſed, in like manner, above the Inundation, preſerve a Communication during the time it laſts.

The Cities are all ſituated on the Nile, or the great Canals; the Houſes in them are built of Brick, ſeveral ſtories high, and in a Taſte nearly like that in vogue with us during the reign of Francis the Firſt. The Palm-Trees, which ſurround them, and the Veſſels, which line the Banks of the River, add to the Beauty of their Situation.

It is thus, by uniting Agriculture with Commerce, that all the Cities of Egypt continually invite, encourage, and profit by the Induſtry which encircles them; but the Advantages which Cairo enjoys are not confined to the Intereſts of Egypt; its Commerce embraces both the Hemiſpheres, and its Streets are continually crowded with Camels, which bring the Merchandiſes of Europe and the Indies, and piled with Bales of Goods from Madras

dras and Marſeilles, ſo that Cairo appears to be the centre of the World.

This City, called by the Arabs Miſſir, is ſituated on the right ſide of the Nile, about half a league from the River. It is adjoining to the Mountains of Arabia: at the weſtern Angle of theſe Mountains the Caſtle of Cairo is built.——Boolac and Old Cairo form the Suburbs; and if, when added to the City, we ſhall find aſſembled here not leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand perſons, we have then another Proof of the great number of Inhabitants in Egypt *(t)*.

Cairo contains ſeveral Squares, ſufficiently ſpacious to invite and deſerve decoration; ſuch as the Square of Luſbequia, that of Romelia, and that of the Great Moſque, named Sultan Haſſan; but all the Streets are narrow, ill-contrived, and

(t) The Head Officer of the Cuſtoms in Egypt, who may be conſidered as Comptroller General of the Kingdom, aſſured me that the City of Cairo, alone, contained more than ſeven hundred thouſand Inhabitants, and I have only taken Boolac and Old Cairo into the account, in order to avoid exaggeration.

badly paved; the Palaces themſelves, which contain ſuch great Wealth, have nothing in their exterior Appearance ſuitable to the Opulence of this City.

Enriched and occupied with the Commerce of Egypt by the Nile, of Europe by the Mediterranean, and of Yemen and the Indies by the Red Sea, this Capital ſwallows up, beſides, all the Revenues of the Great. Its Subſiſtence, which appertains alſo to its Commerce, augments its Riches, and the Luxury which follows thence is encreaſed to ſuch a degree that Gold is eſteemed common; nor can the richeſt Manufactures of India give ſatisfaction.

Whatever, in another State, could only be the Effects of an Adminiſtration well informed, and conſtantly guided by the moſt ſalutary Principles, ariſes in Egypt from the nature of the Soil. The Riches of its Productions ſatisfy the Avidity of its Tyrants, and defend the Cultivators from their Tyranny. The Surplus of its Corn, become abſolutely neceſſary for Arabia-Felix, by furniſhing its Commerce with

with new and certain Exchanges, affords its Activity the moſt ſolid and independent Baſis. The principal Ports of Egypt are Suez and Alexandria; but it is not in theſe that we can judge of the importance of its Commerce. Where there are no political Regulations, there cannot exiſt either individual Companies, excluſive Privileges, or ſubaltern Monopoly; Commerce naturally finds its level; it is ſeized on by Credit, the Cultivator is its Aſſociate, and its Agents receive Wages.

The Poverty of the Cities I have juſt mentioned may, without doubt, be referred to this Principle; they are only the hired Agents of Commerce. Suez, eſpecially, is remarkable for the Penury of its Inhabitants. The Arabs have uſurped the Right of becoming the Carriers of Commerce, without renouncing that of plundering the Merchants, as often as Anarchy promiſes them Impunity.

Beſides the Corn Egypt exchanges with Yemen, for the Coffee with which Europe, but particularly Turkey, is ſupplied,

Rice, Flax, Salt of Natron, employed in the Tanneries, Sal-ammoniac, uſeful for Tin-work, Senna and Saffranum for dying, and the moſt valuable Gums and Drugs, are Objects of Commerce equally important.

Sugar is the only article in which the Induſtry of the Egyptians is confined to what is neceſſary for home Conſumption; and the little Powder-ſugar, which is exported to Conſtantinople, gives no great idea of the goodneſs of that Commodity, brought from the higher Egypt, and refined at Cairo.

Delta, likewiſe, produces a great quantity of ſugar-canes; but they are only cultivated for the Pleaſure of the Inhabitants, who uſe them in their Repaſts.

A more uſeful Branch of Induſtry is that of the Linen Manufacture; it is under no Regulations, and extends as far as the Cataracts; as does the Culture of Indigo. In this burning Climate, where no clothing is worn but a linen Shirt, or Frock, which is always dyed blue, the Surplus of this Manufacture affords another

ther Article for Exportation. The Coaſts of Syria, and the whole inland Country, quite up to Damaſcus, are ſupplied with Salt from the Pits of the lower Egypt.

It is worthy Obſervation that foreign Plants, brought into Egypt, degenerate to ſuch a degree as to be incapable of Reproduction. This is the Caſe with Indigo; and, what is not leſs remarkable is that, the Fields of Indigo, which are every Year ſown with freſh Seed, brought from Syria, furniſh the Egyptians with a very fine Dye, though this ſame Plant is of much inferior Quality in its original Soil.

It is plain, from this Remark, that the Indigo of Syria ſhould be tranſplanted, but that the richneſs of the Soil, and heat of the Sun, in Egypt, make that Country a kind of Hot-houſe, which damages the Quality of the Seed.

To this fertility, and richneſs of the Productions of Egypt, muſt be added a moſt ſalubrious Air. We ſhall be more particularly ſtruck with this Advantage, when we conſider that Roſetta, Damietta, and Manſoora, which are encompaſſed with

Rice-grounds, are much celebrated for the healthineſs of their Neighbourhood; and that Egypt is, perhaps, the only Country in the World where this kind of Culture, which requires ſtagnant Waters, is not unwholeſome. Riches are not there deſtructive to the Lives of Men.

The Reſearches I have carefully made, concerning the Plague, which I once believed to originate in Egypt, have convinced me, that it would not be ſo much as known there, were not the Seeds of it conveyed thither by the commercial Intercourſe between Conſtantinople and Alexandria. It is in this laſt City that it always begins to appear; it but rarely reaches Cairo, though no Precaution is taken to prevent it; and when it does, it is preſently extirpated by the Heats, and prevented from arriving as far as the Saide. It is likewiſe well known that the penetrating Dews, which fall in Egypt about Midſummer, deſtroy, even in Alexandria, all remains of this Diſtemper.

It is only upon the Shores of the Mediterranean, to the Diſtance of ten Leagues, within

within Land, that Rain is known in Egypt; very rarely does it extend farther. At Cairo they have hardly two hours gentle Rain in a whole Year. The noiſe of Thunder is never heard, and Storms, no where frequent in Egypt, always diſcharge their Fury on the Deſerts of Lybia and Arabia, where there is nothing to deſtroy. Thus, every thing concurs to confer on Egypt the moſt precious Gifts of Nature. Birds, of every kind, and of the moſt rare Species, ſeem to haſten thither in Flocks, to enjoy the Beauties of the Country, and add their various Melody to the Gaiety of its Inhabitants.

The Nile offers a moſt intereſting Picture of this kind. The Banks of this River, as well as thoſe of all the Canals, are crowded with vaſt numbers of Peaſants, continually employed in watering the Country, either by their own Labour or the management of thoſe Animals which relieve it. An infinite number of Draw-wells, worked with a Wheel, are contrived for this purpoſe; the Waters, which are

raiſed, are poured into a Channel, and diſtributed among the Grounds, at a diſtance from the River, by various Canals, which the Induſtry and Activity of the Cultivator prepare, with Intelligence and Oeconomy. Women, occupied with the care of their Families, are ſeen carrying home Water, in Jars upon their heads; others waſh their Linen, bleach that which is newly made, ſpread it out, and give themſelves up to that Chearfulneſs and Gaiety ſo natural to them, on every occaſion; making the Air reſound, with their ſhrill voices, *the ululatus of the Romans.* The Barges, which paſs from one City to another, the Boats employed in the Conveyance of Commodities, and the Navigation which Commerce maintains, add to the variety and motion of the Scene.

This Navigation is principally remarkable for the agility of the Watermen, and the manner in which they convey the Pottery-ware, made in the higher Egypt. It will be neceſſary, before this is explained,

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to obſerve that the earthen Pans, made to preſerve Water, ought to be the bigger, the farther thoſe for whoſe uſe they are intended dwell from the River; and, as the Inhabitants of the lower Egypt reſide at the greater diſtance, the Potters, who dwell in the higher, contrive, accordingly, the Raft by which they convey their Wares. The largeſt Jars, faſtened by their Handles, form the firſt Row of the Raft; the middle ſized are placed next, and the leaſt uppermoſt; the Proprietor contrives for himſelf a convenient Station, and, furniſhed with a long Pole, commits himſelf to the Courſe of the Waters, without fearing running aground on a ſoft Clay, which can do no damage. Thus he arrives at Delta, and ſoon gets rid of his Pile of Pottery, by the ſucceſſive ſale of all the Materials of which it is compoſed.

The Egyptians, naturally mild and timid, are alſo ſprightly and intemperate. All their Actions partake of this Character; they are terrified by the leaſt Accident, and familiarized by the ſmalleſt Encou-

Encouragement. The taſte of this People, for Dancing, has introduced into Egypt female Dancers, who have neither Modeſty nor Reſerve, and only pleaſe by the contrary Extravagance.

The Egyptians, were it not for the brownneſs of their tanned Skins, would certainly have a fine Complexion. Their Perſons are genteel and well ſhaped. Both the Men and Women ſwim like Fiſh. Their Clothing is only a blue Shirt, which but indifferently conceals the Pudency of the Women; the Men gird it round them, for convenience, while they labour; the Children always go naked; and I have ſeen Girls, eighteen years old, ſtill Children, in that reſpect.

Mahometaniſm is the principal Religion of the Egyptians; but they have added to it an infinity of Ceremonies, derived more from their own love of Shew than the Precepts of the Prophet. Fraternities of Penitents, nocturnal Proceſſions with Wax-candles, Veſtments proper for that kind of Devotion, chantings and mournings at Interments, and the *Epulum feſ-*

rale,

rak (u), are so many Practices which belong more to the Superstition of their Ancestors, than the new Law they have received.

The Egyptians, notwithstanding, have less Ferocity in their Prejudices than the Turks, who have less Superstition; the reason of which is that these latter are proud, while the Egyptians are only weak. We may perceive that the Pomp, which attends their Ceremonies, is more regarded by them than the Thing signified; and that their Gaiety and Licentiousness have more part in the Pilgrimages, they undertake, than the Saint to whose honour they assemble.

The most revered of these are the Iman Chafi, at Cairo, and the Iman of Tinta; a City situated in the center of Delta. This last Saint is called Sayd, Achmet, and Be-

(u) The Festival for the Dead, practised by the Greeks and Romans, but rejected by the Mahometans. This Custom is still preserved in Egypt, where the Khalif Omar, no doubt, thought proper to yield to Superstition, in order more certainly to govern the Superstitious.

douit.

douit. In the month of July, more than two hundred thouſand Perſons, from the higher and lower Egypt, throng to this Tomb. Commerce, which turns every thing to its Advantage, has eſtabliſhed near it a conſiderable Fair, where Dancers and Mountebanks are found, in plenty, during the time it laſts. Tinta then contains every thing which can contribute to the Amuſement of the Pilgrims; and the Shek of the Moſque of Sayd, Achmet, and Bedouit, gathers an ample Harveſt, by, at once, making his advantage of the Devotion of ſome, and the love of Pleaſure of a great many others.

Each City of Egypt has, likewiſe, its Saint, its Proceſſions, and its Diverſions, which are frequented by thoſe of the Environs, and authorized by the Government. It will be perceived that the Saint of the Capital enjoys his Privileges as a Metropolitan, and that his Tomb is never without Cuſtom. But the Devotion of the Women, more fervent in every Country than that of the Men, is not confined, in Egypt, to the Invocation of the Dead; and

and as Knaves are always encouraged by Dupes, there are to be found, at Cairo, many Saints in perfect health, to whom they prefer paying their Addreſſes.

Theſe predeſtinated Perſons take their ſtation at the Door, or in the Court of the Moſques; where, extended on a ragged Mat, they ſeem loſt in Ecſtaſy, and in poſſeſſion of the Joys of Paradiſe, while this appearance of Beatitude inſpires Veneration. Others, to give themſelves more Importance, walk, gravely, through the Street, only covered with a long white woollen Tunic. They preach up a Contempt for Riches, of which they inſolently demand a ſhare, and propheſy continually the end of the World.

One of theſe Egyptian Saints afforded a proof that the habit of deceiving others may, at laſt, lead us to deceive ourſelves. This Impoſtor had worked himſelf up to ſuch a pitch of Enthuſiaſm as to declare, to the People, that, on ſuch a certain day, and hour, he would croſs the Nile, ſtanding upright on his Mat, only by pronouncing the name of God. Great numbers

bers aſſembled on the Banks of the River. The Saint preſently ſunk to the Bottom, and his Fooliſh followers, for fear of interrupting him in working his Miracle, ſuffered him to be drowned without any Aſſiſtance.

Humanity, though degraded, in Egypt, by theſe pious Abſurdities, is, at the ſame time, honoured by an unlimited Foundation in favour of the Blind; and it is on ſo enlarged a Plan that all the Blind in Egypt are aſſembled at Cairo. This has given birth to the Opinion that this Climate occaſions Blindneſs.

They reckon about four thouſand, maintained by the Moſque of Sultan Haſſan; and perhaps this number does not exceed that of other Countries, in proportion to the number of the Inhabitants. It muſt, however, be allowed that, in Egypt, the claſs of Individuals who are accuſtomed to lie in the Streets, or on the Terraces of Houſes, are particularly ſubject to this Misfortune. A cold Dew, which falls during the Night, makes the Eye-lids tender, and diſpoſes them to ulcerate with the

the heat of the Day. But the Sight of thoſe who lie under cover does not ſuffer ſo much as it would by intemperance in other Climates.

After having conſidered the Monuments of Egypt, the Serenity of its Sky, its Population, the Induſtry of its Inhabitants, and the Riches of its Productions, nothing remains but to caſt an Eye of Contempt on its Government.

Georgian Children, brought and ſold in Egypt, replace thoſe who die out of ten or twelve thouſand Mamalukes. This ſmall number furniſhes the Beys, their Tyrants, the ſubaltern Officers, more cruel than their Maſters, and the Troops, who execute and aggravate their barbarous Orders.

From an Examination of the Canons, or Code, of Sultan Selim, it may be preſumed that Prince rather capitulated with the Mamalukes than obtained a complete Conqueſt of Egypt. It is plain that he left the Government of the Kingdom to the four-and-twenty Beys, and only endeavoured to balance their Authority by

that

that of a Pacha, whom he appointed Governor-General and Preſident of the Council. This Power ſubſiſted as long as the Porte could afford aſſiſtance to its Officers; but the decay of its Strength ſoon obliged it to endeavour, by dividing the Beys, to maintain itſelf againſt their Encroachments. Thus, by always taking part with the weakeſt ſide, the Turks have continually created themſelves new Enemies; and theſe frequent Errors have reduced the word Pacha to a mere Title, to which the Mamalukes ſometimes pay homage, but always keep him, by whom it is poſſeſſed, in cloſe Confinement.

The celebrated Ali-Bey contributed moſt to this Anarchy. He had conceived the Deſign of rendering himſelf Independent: for which Purpoſe, as ſoon as he arrived at ſufficient Power, he had driven away, or cauſed to be aſſaſſinated, all the Beys whom he thought capable of oppoſition; and forced the Pacha to confer the vacant Dignities on his own Slaves. He imagined, likewiſe, it would be difficult to govern Egypt peaceably, except by eſtabliſh-

eſtabliſhing Shek-Taher over Syria, Damaſcus, and all the Country as far as Gaza, which he reſerved for himſelf.

He was deſirous, at the ſame time, to procure Independence for the *Druſes* and the *Mutualis*, in order to make them his Allies; and, after having raiſed this impenetrable Wall againſt the Ottoman Power, he ſuppoſed he ſhould be able to place the Crown of Egypt on his own head.

Nevertheleſs, one of his Slaves, whom he had advanced to the Dignity of Bey, dared to believe himſelf his Equal; and aſſuming the Maſk of Fidelity, of which, however, the Porte was not the Dupe, Mahamout Bey attacked his Maſter, and was ſucceſsful. But he, leſs intelligent, though deſirous of following his Predeceſſor's ſteps, haſtened to ſubdue Shek-Taher, in order to re-unite Syria to Egypt (H).

His Ingratitude had eſcaped unpuniſhed, but not ſo his political Error. He loſt his life at the Siege of Acre; and Murad Bey, who endeavoured to ſucceed him, was only the Tyrant of a Moment,

whom the laſt Revolution deſtroyed, to leave Iſmael Bey a Government, which has already been oppoſed, and has not yet taken any ſettled Form.

The Quarrels, in which the Mamalukes ſo frequently arm, reſemble more the Tumult of an Aſſaſſination than a declared War. The diſſenſion of the Tyrants only affords Amuſement to the common People; they are unconcerned Spectators, indifferent as to the Succeſs of either Party, and, equally without Regret and without Hope, interrupt none of their Operations.

If the indifference of the People to theſe Events, which happen ſo frequently, be ſurpriſing, when we conſider with how much Eaſe they might rid themſelves of their Tyrants, the tranquillity of the latter is no leſs ſo; for they have no real Power with which to maſter the Multitude: the Mamalukes ſeem to diſpute the Poſſeſſion of Egypt like ſo many Banditti, at variance about the Diviſion of a Booty.

Each Bey is the Governor of a Province, and appoints, for each Diſtrict, a Kiacheff, or kind of Sub-Governor. Theſe

Theſe ſubaltern Oppreſſors, inveſted with a Dignity which paves the way for their becoming Beys, attach to themſelves the Mamalukes that are out of Employment; and all the Cities or Villages of Egypt, reſerved for the Beys, or diſtributed by them to their Creatures, are ſubject to a territorial Tribute. The Cultivator holds them at the will of the Maſter, impoſed on them by the ruling Party. All theſe Mamalukes, ſcattered through Egypt, are drawn to the Capital, on every Revolution; yet ſuch Diſſenſions, by reſtoring Liberty to the Inhabitants, have never inſpired them with the idea of preſerving it: nor has it ever entered the Imagination of their Tyrants, that while they are quarrelling at the Gate it might eaſily be ſhut againſt them.

All the Beys reſide in Cairo, and their Slaves compoſe their whole Force; there they make preparation, by their Intrigues, for the projected Revolutions. When their Schemes are ripe for execution, the Kiacheffs, their Creatures, haſten, with

the Mamalukes, to join their Maſters, or betray them, by going over to the oppoſite Party, if more to their Advantage. What can be expected from the union of theſe Forces, without Diſcipline, or concern for Public-good? The deſire of Gain, which brought them together, diſperſes them the moment their Intereſt points a contrary way.

The Caſtle of Cairo, which ſcarcely deſerves ſuch a name, is commonly the place where theſe Diſputes commence; and it is to procure the poſſeſſion of it that both Parties endeavour to gain over the Mamalukes, who command in it, to their ſide. The conqueſt of the City is the principal, or rather the ſole Object. That of the whole lower Egypt muſt neceſſarily follow, becauſe no one diſputes it; and the ſituation of Cairo, on the Nile, governs the Commerce of Proviſions, the only concern of the Cultivator. But this City depends, in its turn, on Delta, and the higher Egypt, from whence it derives its Subſiſtence. The Saide is, therefore, the only

only Reſource of the Fugitives, whither they retire, to interrupt the Navigation of the River, and ſtarve the Capital.

Troops, detached by the victorious Party, purſue, thither, the conquered Beys, who only obtain Pardon, by reducing their Attendants to two or three Mamalukes, and reſiding at a great Diſtance, while their Partiſans ſucceſsfully negociate their return to Cairo, to rejoin the ruling Party.

During this War againſt the Fugitives, the Shek-Amman, who commands the Arabs in the higher Egypt, becomes a Perſon of importance; his aſſiſtance is courted by both Parties; but the Arabs of Lybia and Arabia Petrea, leſs uſeful, leſs accommodating, and leſs ſolicited, pillage all Parties. Delta, alone, ſurrounded by the River, is preſerved from their Rapine, and the fugitive Mamalukes eſcape from them with difficulty; the Diſorder is general, till a new diſtribution of Governments, Diſtricts, and Villages, by re-eſtabliſhing the old Forms, ſubjects Egypt to new Tyrants.

An account of the Revolution of which I was a Witneſs will confirm the Idea I have given of the Mamulukes. After the death of Mahamout Bey, of whom I have ſpoken above, the Beys of Egypt divided into two Parties, prepared, in ſilence, the means of each others Deſtruction. Murad, inſpired by the ſame Ambition which had poſſeſſed his old Maſter, had formed a conjunction with Ibrahim, Shek-Elbelet, and ſome Beys of leſs Conſequence. Theſe exerciſed their Tyranny undiſturbed, while Iſmael, Juſſuf, and ſome other Beys, watched their opportunity to ſeize on the Government.

Iſmael-Aga, a man of abilities, crafty, diſſimulating, and perfidious, ſeemingly attached to Murad Bey, governed in his name, and was guilty of a variety of Oppreſſions and Extortions, of which many Turkiſh and Coptic Merchants were the Victims. Murad, on his return from the Sharkia, where he had been to haraſs the Arabs, learnt that one of his Domeſtics had been baſtinadoed by Soliman-Kiacheff, a Dependent of Juſſuf Bey. He therefore ſent

ſent for this Kiacheff, and cauſed the correction to be repaid with Uſury. Juſſuf ſo well diſſembled his Anger, at this Affront, that Murad believed he might do as he pleaſed with Impunity. He had even been received, on his return to Cairo, with a kind of Triumph; and both he and Ibrahim imagined themſelves in complete ſecurity, when, on the 18th of July, Iſmael, Juſſuf, and all the Beys of their Party, with their Mamalukes, ſallied out of the City, to gain the command of the Nile, by ſeizing on old Cairo, and, at the ſame time, ſummoned the Shek-Elbelet and Murad to ſubmit voluntarily, threatening otherwiſe to oblige them to it by Famine, or force of Arms.

So ſudden an Inſurrection did not give time to the oppoſite Party to aſſemble their Mamalukes; the only Reſource left was to poſſeſs themſelves of the Caſtle of Cairo, the Officers of which are always at the diſpoſal of the ruling Party. Murad and Ibrahim, being inſulted daily, and ſhut up in the Caſtle, by the Troops from without, tried, in vain, the power

of the Firmans *(x)* of the Pacha, whom they kept Priſoner, but who, probably, did not deſire to extricate them from their Embaraſsment.

What moſt diſtreſſed Murad was that Iſmael-Aga, who was his right-hand, and whom we have before mentioned, inſtead of coming to the Caſtle, to join his Maſter, went over to the oppoſite Party, with more than eight hundred thouſand Sequins, with which he was entruſted. This Treachery preſently obliged Murad and Ibrahim to fly into the upper Egypt with but few Attendants.

They took poſſeſſion of Minies. The Traitor, Iſmael, was advanced to the Dignity of Bey, as was Soliman-Kiacheff, and the houſe of Murad beſtowed on the latter, as an indemnification for the Baſtinado he had received a Fortnight before. Peace was proclaimed, at the ſame time; and Juſſuf Bey, too much blinded by his Pride to perceive that he had only been

(*x*) An Order, in form of an Edict, which the Pachas of three Tails, ſtiled Viſirs of the Bench, iſſue in the name of the Grand Seignior.

made

made uſe of as a Tool to bring about this Revolution, diſcovered, too ſoon, his intentions to raiſe himſelf above his Companions. The two Iſmaels were not long before they puniſhed him, for having ſo much under-rated their Abilities: they aſſaſſinated him in his own houſe; his Partiſans underwent the ſame fate; and the new Bey, Soliman, was deprived of his Dignity. But theſe Events did not promiſe a durable Peace; and it was to be preſumed that the Tyrants would not remain long united, after the Deſtruction of the Fugitives.

I ſhall not take my leave of Egypt, without preſenting Hiſtorians and Geographers with an obſervation, without which the Sieur de Joinville's Relation of the landing of St. Louis, at Damietta, will be unintelligible.

This Eye-witneſs informs us that the Fleet of that King, having ſailed from Cyprus, was ſoon after diſperſed, but aſſembled again at Damietta, where Louis landed on an Iſland, which communicated with the City by a Bridge.

It

It is plain, from this Deſcription, that the Nile, falling, then into the Sea, in a line at right Angles with the Coaſt, had a ſmall Arm, which, ſtretching towards the Eaſt, formed an Iſland, oppoſite Damietta. But this Branch having ſince become the Bed of the River, and the old Channel being filled up with Earth, and united to Delta, Geographers, now, only find a projection of Land, intervening between the Sea and the City.

The Hiſtorian will likewiſe perceive that, if this Alteration had preceded the Arrival of the Cruſades, their Situation would have been leſs embarraſſing. The Iſland of Delta would have plentifully ſupplied them with Proviſions, and afforded them a Poſition impenetrable to the Cavalry of the Mamalukes, with every Advantage to reduce them. Whereas, it was on the oppoſite Shore that Louis expoſed his Army to the want of Subſiſtence, by affording the Sultan an Opportunity to unite againſt him all his Forces.

The Sieur de Joinville ſpeaks of the Tanis, one of the Canals of the Sharkia,

as an Arm of the Nile, and ſeems not to know the projection of the Iſland of Delta which ſeparates them.

I ſhall likewiſe obſerve, for the Natural Philoſopher, that Fort St. Louis, built at the point of the projection of Land which formerly was the Iſland where he diſembarked, is ſtill waſhed by the Waters of the Sea. If we conſider that the Time when it was built muſt, neceſſarily, correſpond with the Exiſtence of the Port of Frejus, where the King embarked, when he ſet out on his Expedition to Egypt, we muſt conclude, that Sea-Sand, driven thither, could alone have filled up this Harbour, and thrown back its ſituation to the diſtance it is at preſent from the Water; ſince Fort St. Louis proves the Level of the Sea to have undergone no ſenſible alteration ſince that Time.

After having re-embarked at Alexandria, our Frigate coaſted along Egypt, avoiding the rocky Shore which renders it inacceſſible, as far as Damietta, the Road of which we croſſed, and continued our courſe

courſe to Jaff, where there is a Harbour ſcarcely ſufficient to ſhelter a few ſmall Veſſels. We anchored in the Road, about two Leagues from the Shore.

From Jaff I was to proceed to Rames; and I journeyed, on Horſeback, to this City of Paleſtine, whither the Agent of the Holy Land came from Jeruſalem to meet me. This Recollect Friar had, for his Attendants and Eſcort, the four Arabian Chiefs of the Mountain. So great had been the influence of his Money that, on the arrival of my Courier, he had cauſed thoſe Princes, who had been long at variance, to conclude a Truce, merely that he might come to ſee me more conveniently.

The Governor of Jeruſalem, who had been the chief Inſtrument in this Pacification, wiſhed me to take advantage of it, and pay him a Viſit. The regard ſhewn me by the Agent ſeemed too well eſtabliſhed to be increaſed, and the Relicts with which I had been preſented, by the ſacred Directory, left me nothing farther to wiſh on that head.

The

The ſpace between the Sea and Jeruſalem is a flat Country, about ſix Leagues in breadth, extremely fertile. The Fig-Tree of India *(y)* ſupplies it with Hedges, and furniſhes impenetrable Barriers, which ſecure the Fields of the different Proprietors. Cotton is here the principal Branch of Commerce, and the Induſtry of the Inhabitants employs itſelf in ſpinning. This part of the Holy Land is very remarkable for the remains of the Cruſades, with which it is covered.

Mahometaniſm, while it deſtroyed theſe Monuments, has found a way to profit by the pious Enthuſiaſm which erected them; and the Policy of the Turks, by admitting both the Greeks and Latins into the Holy Land, in order to profit by their diſputes, has depended more on their Pride than their Devotion. A ſcheme ſo well contrived ſurpaſſed all their Hopes in its Effects: the Quarrels of the two Religious Sects are never to be appeaſed; and, thanks to the Money of Spain, the Government of Jeruſalem

(y) This Plant is alſo called Racket.

ought

ought to be conſidered as one of the beſt Benefices of Oppreſſion. That which the Greeks had juſt ſuffered, on my arrival at Rames, had crowned the Catholics with Glory; and the Eſcort of the Agent was the conſequence of this Triumph. He was deſirous to conduct me to Jaff, and I was really charmed to ſee the Frock and the Friar mounted aſtride on a beautiful Arabian, richly capariſoned.

I was ſhewn, as I approached the Coaſt, the horrible Pyramid erected by Mehemet Bey. That Barbarian had formed it of fifteen hundred Heads, which he had cauſed to be cut off after taking the City.

Jaff conſtitutes a ſeparate Government, which is an Appenage to a Sultana, who receives its cuſtoms; but the depopulation of this City muſt neceſſarily diminiſh its Commerce: it only conſiſts of Linen and Rice, ſent from Damietta for the conſumption of Napoplooſe, Rames, Jeruſalem, and numerous Hordes of Arabs, who encamp in the Plains of Gaza.

Damietta receives, in Exchange, the coarſe Glaſs-ware fabricated at Ebrom, raw Cottons,

Cottons, Cummin, and, eſpecially, Soap of Jaff. This Article has enjoyed, from Time immemorial, the Privilege of only paying, in Egypt, half the uſual Duties.

After having viſited, with the Agent, the Hoſpitium of his Order, and obliged him in what he thought neceſſary to his Views, this Monk, who was not a Prieſt, determined to pay me the greateſt Reſpect, by giving me his Benediction in the face of Iſrael; notwithſtanding which, the Multitude, who followed us to the Shore, were very near ſeeing me drowned by the Breakers of the Bar, which the raſhneſs of the Sailors had dared to encounter, though they had ſcarcely the Skill to extricate themſelves from the Danger.

On our return to the Frigate, we ſet ſail for St. John d'Acre, where we anchored the next day. Dgezar, the Pacha of Saide, was then there, and, on my landing, cauſed it to be ſignified to me, that he was deſirous I ſhould pay him a Viſit; but I did not chuſe to have any communication with him: the Cruelties for which he was remarkable, and the Oppreſ-

Oppreſſions which had made him dreaded, were ſo many Motives with me to mortify his Pride.

I could eaſily diſcover, by the Language of the Officer he had ſent to compliment me, that my Credit with the Porte was the principal Reaſon for his Aſſiduities; and I did not neglect this Opportunity to add to the Uneaſineſs he had long felt, through Fear of the Reſentment of the Grand Seignior. I returned him for anſwer that, as we were both Travellers, our becoming acquainted was uſeleſs.

The Officer did not imagine this Reply would prevent my viſiting his Maſter, at his principal place of Reſidence; but the Pacha felt the bitterneſs of the Sarcaſm; and the word Traveller, which, in its literal ſenſe, could not be applied to him, while in his Government, he perceived muſt be uſed in the figurative ſignification of Death, given to it by the Turks (I). He could not indeed deny that, if the feebleneſs of the Ottoman Power had not prevented it from puniſhing Diſorders, the horrible Tyranny he had

had exerciſed would long ſince have been puniſhed with the loſs of his Head.

To ſuch a height he carried it that it was even his Pride; and this Monſter had taken the name of Dgezar (Butcher) as an illuſtrious addition to his Title. It was, no doubt, well deſerved; for he had immured alive a great number of Greek Chriſtians, when he rebuilt the Walls of Barut, to defend it from the Invaſion of the Ruſſians. The heads of theſe miſerable Victims, which the Butcher had left out, in order to enjoy their Tortures, are ſtill to be ſeen.

By ſuch barbarous Principles was the Conduct of Dgezar governed. His own ſecurity obliged him to keep in pay a number of Banditti; he manned with them a ſmall Fleet to cruize upon the Coaſt, and a Troop of Horſe came by Land to meet him at the place where he diſembarked. Dgezar Pacha was at Acre, in this Situation, and, perceiving he could obtain nothing from me, was deſirous, at leaſt, of receiving the ſalute of the Frigate; but, no leſs ignorant than proud,

he thought it ſufficient to ſhew himſelf on the Beach, with a brilliant Cavalcade, to receive a Compliment which he had no right to expect, except by appearing on the Water.

He made no doubt but the ſilence of the Frigate was in conſequence of the diſlike he had experienced from me before, and, to revenge the Affront, diſpatched Orders to Saide not to ſalute the Frigate when ſhe arrived: he even pleaſed himſelf with informing me of what he had done; but this paltry Mark of Reſentment had no more ſucceſs than his former pretended Civility. I replied, I thanked him for having anticipated my Deſign, it being my Intention to aboliſh thoſe Preſents, likewiſe, which an abſurd Cuſtom uſed to conſider as neceſſary.

Acre is ſituated in a very ſpacious Bay, and defended from the South Winds by Mount Carmel *(z)*. The Walls of the Church,

(z) The Catholic Monks, who attend at the Grotto of the Prophet Elias, to receive the Pilgrims who viſit it, inſtead of Relicts, which they have not, preſent

Church, which the Knights Hoſpitallers built there, are ſtill to be ſeen. They dedicated it to St. John their Patron; and this name, added to that of the City, has made it known under the Denomination of St. John d'Acre. The Speculations of Commerce could never be extended to this City till a long time after the Cruſades; the enthuſiaſtic Cruſaders no more favoured Improvements than the Turks, who, in order to govern Syria, have been its Deſtroyers.

It likewiſe was not till under the peaceable Reign of Shek-Taer that their abundant Crops multiplied our Eſtabliſhments; and ſince the tragical End of that Prince Commerce has begun to decline. It principally conſiſts in Cotton, the quality of which was ſuperior, before the Cultivator neglected the care of ſeparating the Seeds himſelf, to what it is at preſent.

I departed from Acre to proceed to Saide, where the French Conſul General reſides.

ſent their Gueſts with Geodes of various ſhapes, which they there find in plenty, and pretend to be petrified Fruits.

This City is, in ſome meaſure, the Chief Seat of our Commerce in Syria. We anchored there, by the ſide of a Ship of War of the Grand Seignior's, the Captain of which did not ſeem inclined to be very polite. I have already ſaid that the Fortreſs had received Orders, from the Pacha, not to ſalute us; but he could not foreſee that we ſhould find here the very Caravella of which I had ſuperintended the Conſtruction, caſt the Artillery, and procured the Appointment of the Captain.

This was likewiſe the firſt Veſſel which diſplayed the Green-Flag I had perſuaded the Porte to adopt; and its Commander had no ſooner learned I was on board the Frigate than he came to pay me his Reſpects. I thought proper to ſhew him that the independent Conduct of the Pacha of Saide ought to induce him to pay more reſpect to the French Flag; as that of the Grand Seignior was leſs regarded in Syria than any where elſe. He replied to this Remonſtrance by a ſalute of nine Pieces of Cannon, which we returned. He afterwards came to ſee me at the Conſul's,

ſul's, to excuſe his negligence, and invite me to viſit him on board, on which Occaſion I was ſaluted both coming and going.

Theſe ſalutes were further Mortifications to the Pacha, and he determined to enter the Harbour by Night, to avoid any new affront: but the Baron de Durfort, at Sun-riſing, ſaluted his little Fleet; and this Politeneſs, quite unexpected to Dgezar, made him imagine I ſhould treat him better at Saide than at Acre. He again invited me to viſit him; and I was given to underſtand that he intended me a Preſent of a rich Peliſſe; but I abided by my firſt Reſolution, well convinced, I ſhould acquire more Reſpect by deſpiſing Dgezar than by accepting from him any frivolous Mark of Diſtinction.

I thought it neceſſary to deſcribe the Character of this Pacha, and relate my Conduct towards him, as it particularly promotes the purpoſe I had in view in writing theſe Memoirs. A Deſcription of this Monſter, let looſe upon Mankind, who tyrannized over his Province, and kept back, with impunity, two Years

Revenues, due to his Maſter, who yet ſuffered his Pride to be humbled by a Stranger, and his Reſentment to be reſtrained, through Fear of a ſingle Frigate, of which he knew not the Orders, by ſhewing at once the weakneſs of the Deſpot, and the cowardice of the diſtant Subalterns who impoſe upon him, preſents a complete Picture of the Ottoman Empire.

The City of Saide, the ancient Sidon, is ſituated towards the middle of the Coaſt of Syria, at the feet of the Mountains Libanus and Anti-Libanus. The Mutualis on the South Side, and the Druſes on the North, inhabit the Mountains which extend along the Shores; and, notwithſtanding all the attempts of the Porte to ſubject them more completely, ſtill preſerve a ſort of Independence. It is certain that the Druſes are not very exact in paying their ſtipulated Tribute. The Pacha of Saide is even obliged, for the ſecurity of his Territories, to farm them out to the Chiefs of the Mountain; but this method of avoiding their Ravages does not always inſure the payment of the Revenues; and the agency

agency, to which he is compelled to have recourſe, produces frequent Quarrels.

The Mutualis, who inhabit Anti-Libanus, from Saide to Acre, are leſs numerous than the Druſes; but the Caſtles they poſſeſs render them equally ready to rebel, and no leſs difficult to ſubdue. The Summit of every Mountain is a Fortreſs, and every Landholder a powerful Vaſſal; and this People, enthuſiaſtically addicted to the Precepts of Ali, hold in utter Abhorrence the Sonnite Mahometans, and murder them, without remorſe, whenever they find an Opportunity.

The Mutualis have agreed to pay the annual Tribute of two hundred Purſes, for the quiet enjoyment of their Mountains and Manors, but are far more careful to preſerve the Eſtate than to diſcharge the Rent; and both the Druſes and Mutualis, equally difficult to reduce by Force, having confined the Authority of the Pacha within narrow Limits, have rendered its oppreſſive Weight much more ſenſible to the Inhabitants of Saide.

Between this City and that of Acre is ſtill to be ſeen the City of Sur, the famous Tyre; it is under the Dominion of the Chief of the Mutualis, and this Mother of Navigation ſtill poſſeſſes the advantage of having the beſt Harbour in Syria; but Tobacco and Corn are the only Articles of Commercial Intercourſe between Sur and Saide, except Spun Silk, which is furniſhed by the Inhabitants of the adjacent Country, and to deal in which is the excluſive Privilege of the French *(a)* (K).

(a) This Circumſtance is a true picture of the Turkiſh Government, which knows not how either to give or withhold with diſcernment. One of the French Merchants of Saide preſides over the public Market; the Janiſſaries appointed for the French Nation, ſuperintend the Police; the Overſeers of our Commerce ſet a price upon the Silk; the People of the Country are forbidden to purchaſe it, and Strangers are under ſtill greater Reſtrictions. Monopoly cannot be more manifeſt; but it is ſo well eſtabliſhed, by Prejudice, that the People themſelves would not permit the Government to deſtroy it; and thoſe who bring the Silk would prefer the Certainty of a prompt Sale, to the uncertain Advantage of a higher Price, for which they muſt wait.

If

That our Traders have not been exempt from the Oppreſſions of the Pacha is becauſe they have not had firmneſs enough to withſtand him; for the Governor cannot but know he muſt be expoſed to great Danger, if, by any ill-judged Proceedings, he ſhould force the French Merchants to forſake that part of the Country.

On our leaving Saide, we ſailed along the Coaſt, and anchored under cover of ſome Rocks at the bottom of the Road of Barut. This City is built on the Iſthmus of a Peninſula, the higher ground of which is ornamented by a Plantation of Pine-Trees.

The Beauty and Variety of the Gardens, round the Town, and the Purity of the Air, had brought thither a great number of Inhabitants; and ſo long as the Porte left the Territory of Barut under the Juriſdiction of the Emir of the Druſes, who inhabits the neighbouring Mountains, the mildneſs of the Government, and eſpecially the Spirit of Toleration, which made no diſtinction between the Druſe, the Mahometan, and the Chriſtian, induced a great

great number of Merchants to ſettle there; but ſince Dgezar has ſeized on the City, in order to deſtroy its Trade, and force it to Saide, the Merchants of Barut have left it, and retired to the Mountain, to wait for the Deſtruction of the Tyrant.

His View was to increaſe the Revenue of the Cuſtoms, at Saide, which he farms of the Porte; but his Ignorance hindered him from perceiving that ſuch Speculations would give a mortal blow to Induſtry, and therefore could never be founded on the true Principles of Commerce.

The Mountains of Caſtervan extend along the Sea, from Barut, ſix leagues to the North; they join to thoſe of Mount Libanus, or Lebanon, form their Baſe, and are inhabited by Catholics, who live in perfect Amity with the Druſes, their Neighbours; of whom I ſhall preſently ſpeak more particularly.

Tripoli of Syria, whither we proceeded, after having left Barut, is ſituated at a ſmall diſtance from its Road, and the number of Gardens about it would render it

it very pleaſant, if the Air were not ſo unwholeſome in Summer. The Grounds belonging to it, extend as far as Mount Lebanon *(b)*; they abound in Vineyards. Each Hill produces a different Wine; but the golden Wine is moſt admired.

Silk, which is cultivated in great abundance around Lebanon, and brought to Tripoli, is the principal Object of Commerce. Seven or eight hundred Quintals are annually exported to France, of which the greater part is ſent from other Ports, where the Merchants have Bills, which they wiſh to pay away, and the Bills of Exchange, ſent from Conſtantinople for that purpoſe, are always negociated with the Pacha.

He who then had the command was the Son of the Pacha of Damaſcus. I wanted his Aſſiſtance to procure the means of going, by Land, to Aleppo; he was abſent

(b) On that part of the Mountain neareſt Tripoli, are ſtill to be ſeen the famous Cedars, ſo much vaunted; the moſt remarkable thing about which was their Antiquity, as I was informed; but I forbore to pay them my Reſpects.

from

from Tripoli, and I was very glad to find I could meet with him at Lattaka; but as the Frigate could not anchor in the Harbour, becauſe the negligence of the Turks had ſuffered it to be choaked up by the Ballaſt, thrown out of the Veſſels, ſhe laid to, till the return of her Boat, which carried me to Lattaka.

Its entrance is defended by a Caſtle, in ſo ruinous a Condition that, had it not been for the report of the Artillery, which ſaluted me, I ſhould have paſſed it without perceiving any Fortification. The Officer of the Cuſtoms received me, at my landing, with great Reſpect, and his complaiſance made me entertain a favourable Opinion of the Character of his Maſter *(c)*.

After

(c) The Influence of the Maſter's Temper, on all his Servants and Dependents, is one of the moſt remarkable Particulars in the Manners of the Turks. Deſpotiſm ſeems as if it would be incomplete were it not alſo to enſlave the Sentiments of the Mind. The Servants of the Turks carefully obſerve the reception any one meets with from their Patron, in order to treat him

After reſting awhile in a Kioſk, where I took ſome Refreſhment, I proceeded to Lattaka. This City, the ancient Laodi-

him in like manner, the moment he quits his preſence. They interpret the Uſage he has received, and if the Maſter beſtows a kick he can expect no Quarter. A Pacha had honoured a European Merchant with his intimate Friendſhip; he delighted in his Company, and all about him paid their court to the Stranger. It happened that he was ſubject to the Gout. The Pacha, who had unfortunately ſtudied a little Phyſic, was deſirous to cure his Friend, and, when he was in one of his fits, directed two of his Domeſtics to give him fifty Blows on the Soles of his Feet. The Servants, who were not ſo learned as their Maſter, aſtoniſhed he ſhould be treated in a manner which had ſo little the appearance of Friendſhip, imagined the Infidel muſt have given ſome Affront, and executed their Orders with a Severity of which they made their boaſt. What, ſaid he, Raſcals, have you dared to treat the man who is my Friend with Diſreſpect? The fifty Blows were intended as a Remedy, but the Inſults you have added muſt not go unpuniſhed. He immediately ordered that each ſhould receive a hundred Blows for their Preſumption; and went and apologized to the Merchant for the Inſolence of his Domeſtics, who had dared to render his Remedy more violent. The European, though he would willingly have diſpenſed with the adminiſtration of the Medicine, found it deſerving praiſe, for it ſoon effected a perfect Cure.

cea,

cea, is built on an Eminence which overlooks the Harbour: Some Remains of its ancient Splendour are yet to be ſeen, and it ſtill contains ſeveral very handſome Houſes. I ſoon received the Compliments of the Pacha of Tripoli on my arrival, and an Aſſurance that he wiſhed to ſee and ſerve me. He furniſhed me even with more than I wanted, for my Journey to Aleppo, and inſiſted on doing me Honour, as well as ſupplying me with Neceſſaries. Nay, he appeared to fear Reprehenſion from the Porte, if, by his neglecting to procure me Reſpect, I ſhould be expoſed to any Inſults among the Mountains over which I was to paſs. On my return from my Viſit his firſt Equerry brought me a Horſe, ſent by his Maſter, with an Aſſurance that he had himſelf proved the ſureneſs of his footing, among the ſteepeſt Rocks.

As I had procured Tents and the neceſſary Utenſils at Tripoli, every thing was ſoon ready for our Departure. We began our Journey with the Guards, whom the Pacha had appointed to attend me, and encamped,

encamped, for the firſt time, on the Banks of a River at the foot of Mount Lebanon.

I had ſcarcely alighted before a Druſe of the Mountain came to preſent a Remonſtrance againſt a French Merchant, his Debtor, of whom I had already heard ſeveral Complaints. While the neceſſary Writings were making out, for the verification and acquittance of this Debt, I took that Opportunity to diſcourſe with a man in whom I had admired the honeſt haughtineſs with which he had demanded Juſtice, and had time enough to procure an account of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Druſes, which I ſhall ſubjoin, adding to it what other Information I could procure (L).

Theſe people are divided into ſeveral Sects, who mutually deteſt each other, though they are all comprized under the ſame Denomination. Yet they always unite in defence of their common Liberty, and all entertain the ſame Prejudices againſt the Mahometans. This, however, they carefully conceal; and, when their Buſineſs

Buſineſs leads them into any of the Turkiſh Cities, always frequent the Moſques; though they prefer our Churches, when they can go there without danger. Yet they appear as far removed from the Doctrines of the Goſpel as the Precepts of the Koran. It is plain from the information which has been collected, concerning the Religion of the greater part of the Druſes, that theſe Mountaineers are the Followers of Hakem-Bamr-Illah *(d)*, Khalif of Egypt, of the Family of the Fatimites. They have canonized him by the name of Hakem-Bamri *(e)*, but have, themſelves, received their name from that of his Apoſtle Dourſi. This Etymology, taken from their ſacred Books, is ſufficient to deſtroy that given by M. Pujet de Saint-Pierre, who makes them to be deſcended from the Comte de Dreux: but this is too abſurd to merit any diſcuſſion.

The Khalif Hakem, and his Apoſtle, ſeem to have refined on the Contempt with

(d) Arabic words, which ſignify Governor of the order of God.

(e) Governor of his order.

which

which all Sectaries have treated Mankind. They have divided their Followers into three Claſſes; the Prieſts, the Initiated, and the common People. Theſe laſt, who ſcarcely know a few moral Precepts neceſſary to Society, and without which men cannot ſleep in ſafety, rely for their Salvation on the two former; yet on this Foundation the Druſes believe themſelves the elect of God, and deſpiſe every other Sect.

Hakem has promiſed them they ſhall be the Heirs of the Turks, of whom the Chriſtians ſhall be the Deſtroyers; and, on the breaking out of the Ruſſian War, they believed, no doubt, the accompliſhment of this Prophecy was drawing nigh. This Opinion has produced the preference with which they honour the Chriſtians; but, it is probable, their Prophet has falſely calculated the Order of Succeſſion.

The Ceremonies of this Sect are never expoſed to the Eyes of the Profane; their Books *(f)* are kept concealed with

(f) The Druſes are prohibited from eating with any Perſon in Authority, for fear of participating in Wealth unjuſtly acquired.

care, eſpecially that of the Prieſts, (emphatically called the Book,) of which it ſeems impoſſible to procure a Copy. Yet is it generally believed that the Druſes worſhip a kind of Idol, which they keep in a ſubterranean Cavern, where only the Initiated are permitted to enter.

Some of their Women, converted to the Chriſtian Faith, have alſo diſcovered others of their Practices no leſs abſurd; but as they were not admitted to the ſecrets of their Sect, the indubitable Veracity I have preſcribed to myſelf, in all my Relations, will not allow me to repeat their Information.

Different Sects of the Druſes inhabit thoſe parts of the Mountains which I croſſed. The Turks call them Nuſeris, or Anſeris, but they reject both theſe Denominations for that of Druſes. Without pretending to penetrate inſcrutable Myſteries, we may diſcover that the greater part of them pay a particular Adoration to the Sun: at his riſing they perform three Genuflexions, and ſeem to attempt to ſeize his earlieſt Rays with their hands, to

rub

rub their bodies with them as a Purification.

It is believed, their Veneration only laſts till Evening, and that they indulge themſelves during the Night, and compenſate for the Abſtinence of the Day. Another Sect, it is ſaid, pay divine Honours to the Moon, and reſerve the Day for their Pleaſures.

There are, likewiſe, in theſe Mountains, thoſe who may be called Gynæcoliſts *(g)*, whoſe Worſhip, leſs myſterious than that which the Chineſe pay to the Lingam, appears to be of the ſame Kind. The Druſes, who are Worſhippers of the Sun, have a more immediate relation to the ancient Inhabitants of Palmyra. At a ſmall diſtance from that City, and within ſight of the Ruins of the famous Temple of the Sun, the Adorers of that Luminary are ſtill to be found. Lebanon receives

(g) This word ſignifies Adorers of Women; but as ſuch a name, taken in a gallant ſenſe, cannot be properly applied to the Druſes, the Author has uſed this Greek compound out of Reſpect to the Ladies.

his firſt Rays, and there ſhould his Worſhip be ſtill protected and preſerved.

Two Days were ſpent in croſſing theſe Mountains: we obſerved three Chains of them; of which, the two lateral are, in ſome manner, the Baſe which ſupports that of the Center. They alternately preſent the moſt profound Abyſſes and the moſt dangerous Defiles; Situations aſtoniſhingly pictureſque and Valleys delightfully beautiful. There are likewiſe Plantations of Mulberry Trees, kept in great order. Theſe Trees, the Leaves of which are Food for the Silk-worms, are planted in quincunx, with an exactneſs which is the more ſurpriſing becauſe it is not only uſeleſs but wholly unknown, in the Levant, except among the Druſes. Their Villages appear to me tolerably well-built; they are always ſupported by the baſes of the over-hanging Rocks which ſhelter them; and the ſummits of the ſurrounding Mountains, crowned with Pine-Trees, furniſh a Scene truly Magnificent.

We arrived, after a difficult Journey of three Days, at the ſmall Town of Tchookoor,

Tchookoor, on the Banks of the Orontes. The Pilgrims of Conſtantinople and Aſia, aſſembled to proceed to Damaſcus, which is the general Rendezvous of the Caravan of Mecca, had got before us to Tchookoor, and we found their Camp already formed by the ſide of the River. I pitched mine at a ſmall diſtance, and their Chief (for every Society chuſes itſelf a Maſter, or the reſemblance of one) ſoon ſent me a Preſent of Fruit, and Compliments on my Arrival.

Notwithſtanding this Civility, the Commander of the City judged I was not in the moſt perfect Security, while in the Neighbourhood of ſo large a Body who were to depart the next Day, and every one of whom was already ſure of his Pardon. He therefore ſtrengthened my Eſcort by a Company of Infantry, who were diſpoſed in a Line of Circumvallation; but I knew enough of the Turks to have a better Opinion of the Pilgrims, and not enough of my new Guard to be without my Fears. My greateſt Inconvenience, however, was a continual Diſcharge of

their Fire-Arms, during the whole Night; which they aſſured me was the only way to keep the Robbers at a Diſtance, though certainly it was, likewiſe, the way to murder very honeſt People, had they happened to approach. Yet I was obliged to pay theſe Poltroons for having prevented my ſleeping.

Rhia, where we lay the next Night, is ſituated at the Entrance of the Plains of Syria; its Ruins are ſtill to be ſeen, but preſent no Object of Importance, though they appear to be of the higheſt Antiquity. The richeſt Cultivation ſurrounds this ſmall City, and extends quite as far as Aleppo. We were two Days and a half in croſſing this Plain; the Labour beſtowed on which has been moſt remarkable. Every Furrow ſeems drawn with a Line, and is perfectly ſtraight for more than a quarter of a League. The Produce of the Land is Corn, Cotton, and a Kind of Grain, of which the Inhabitants make Oil. Induſtry ſeems to throw a Veil over the Devaſtations which theſe Plains have ſuffered; a Proof of them is ſtill to be found

found in ſeveral ancient Fragments. I have ſeen, near a Fountain, a Ciſtern of white Marble, of a ſingle Block, ſeven feet long by three high, and four broad, ornamented with the Repreſentation of Sacrifices of Rams, and Garlands of moſt elegant Sculpture, in an exquiſite Taſte. It was uſed to water the Cattle, and cannot be ſuppoſed to have been brought either from Palmyra or Balbec, but muſt be the Relict of ſome leſs diſtant City, which is now more compleatly deſtroyed even than theſe.

I was ſtill in Danger of a public Entry, which determined me to ſtop at Kantooman, deſigned for a reſting Place for Travellers, and which lies three Leagues from Aleppo, on the ſkirts of the Deſart which encompaſſes that City. I arrived there at night, after having croſſed ſome very rugged Grounds, and breathed an Air abſolutely phoſphoric. The Precautions I had taken, to ſhun the Honour intended me, ſerved only to render it diſmal; the Flambeaux, which waited for me at the Gate of the City, and lighted

me to the Conſul's, gave my Entry the appearance of a funeral Ceremony.

Aleppo, celebrated for the Number of its Inhabitants *(b)*, the Beauty of its Edifices, the Extent of its Commerce, and the Riches which that produces, is ſituated in a hollow Valley, cloſe to a ſmall River. This Water, which ſupplies the Inhabitants of Aleppo, appears as extraordinary, in the Country through which it runs, as the City itſelf, in the Deſart in which it ſtands.

The marks of Devaſtation, which are ſeen all around, can alone furniſh the Solution of this political Problem; but the reaſons of its Preſervation, Increaſe, and Opulence, are eaſily to be ſeen, in the neceſſity that Commerce ſhould poſſeſs a Repoſitory between the Mediterranean and the Perſian Gulph; and it was requiſite its ſituation ſhould be near ſome running

(b) Aleppo is ſuppoſed to contain one hundred and fifty thouſand Inhabitants, moſtly Mahometans. Some Jews and many Armenians are to be found there; but the Franks, whom Commerce invites thither, are too few to be mentioned.

Stream,

Stream, not far from its Source. The Soil of theſe Plains is ſo dry that this River loſes itſelf in the Earth, a few Leagues below the City, though it riſes not far from it; and ſeems only to ſhew itſelf amidſt theſe thirſty Lands that the ſmall Valley it waters might be inhabited.

Aleppo is ſurrounded with Gardens, or rather ſmall Woods of Piſtachios, with leaves of a lively green. Their roſe-coloured Fruits are very agreeable to the Eye, and yield the Inhabitants a branch of Commerce at once certain and advantageous.

A tolerably large Caſtle defends this City from the Depredations of the neighbouring Arabs. This Fortreſs, placed in the center of the circular Space which the City occupies, is built on an Eminence, which appears to be the Labour of human Induſtry, and ſtill ſeems to be encircled by Layers of Stone. The Fort, which is built there on the Principles of the ancient military Art, contains at preſent ſome Pieces of Artillery, which command the Summits of all the neighbouring Hills, without being obſtructed by the Houſes,

Houſes, which are all built with Terraces, and ſo equal in height that there are ſeldom any Steps to aſcend or deſcend in going from one Houſe to another; while ſeveral large vaulted Streets increaſe the facility of communication, by affording a Paſſage to every part of the City free from the Embarraſſment of the open Streets. They are carefully paved, have Gutters and a foot Pavement on each ſide, and the middle of the Street is laid with Brick, the ſmall end upwards, for the convenience of the Horſes.

I muſt not forget to remark that, in Aleppo, we find a Cleanlineſs unknown to the other Cities of Turkey, even to the Capital itſelf. This Regulation is not attended with the trouble of our Scavengers; there are Aſs-Drivers, who go about the City, and take up the Rubbiſh and Duſt which each Inhabitant is obliged to ſweep together; and though the Heat of the Climate renders this Labour more eaſy, the ſame Heat obliges them to greater Cleanlineſs to preſerve the Salubrity of the Air, eſpecially in the vaulted Streets

Streets I have juſt mentioned. Theſe are particularly appropriated to Merchants; they contain the moſt precious effects, and it is there that Commerce diſplays all its Activity. (M)

The granting of Guards to the different Caravans, and Eſcorts to Travellers, furniſh the Pacha and his Officers with the Means of oppreſſing both Trade and Individuals. Excepting this, Aleppo enjoys more Tranquillity than other Mahometan Cities; the Europeans have never experienced any Extortion capable of deterring them from their Speculations; and we may judge of the Succeſs of Induſtry, among the Inhabitants of Aleppo, from its being paid ſome reſpect to even by Deſpotiſm itſelf.

It is arrived to ſuch Perfection as to enter into Competition with the Indies. I have carefully examined the fabrication of the Cloth they make, which the French call *Herbages (i)*, the Importation

(i) Or Herbal: Thread of all Kinds, got from the vegetable Kingdom is ſo called by the French, though it here means a Kind of Silk and Cotton Manufacture. T.

of

of which into France has been forbidden, though our Imitation of it is not good enough to warrant the Prohibition, neither will our mode of Spinning, nor the Impediments thrown in the way of the Manufacture, ever admit of its being brought to Perfection. Our Failure is indeed much leſs in the method of weaving, for theirs is exactly according to our manner of making wrought Stuffs, than in the Dexterity of the Spinner. This is their great excellence, and renders the Silk of Libanus ſuperior to the thrown Silks of Italy; and though, from the Cotton of Aleppo, we ſcarcely can make the Bourres of Rouen *(k)*, in Syria it is employed as the Warp of their Herbages; but the Spindle requires Patience, and Patience overcomes every Difficulty *(l)*.

When

(k) Bourre ſignifies, in the French Language, the Refuſe or Shavings of Wool, Cotton, Silk, &c. and is manufactured into Mats, of a Quality equal to the Kind of Bourre. It is likewiſe worked into Silk-Shag, made at Marſeilles and other Towns. T.

(*l*) The manner of ſpinning at Aleppo certainly cannot ſucceed in Manufactories where the Work is

When I arrived at Aleppo Iſed-Achmet Pacha, who had before governed that City, had lately been ſuperſeded, and ordered to go and overlook the Repairs of the Temple of Mecca. The Inhabitants regretted this Appointment, which, of an able Stateſman, had made a bad Architect. He ſet off for the Place of his Deſtination the ſame day that I did for Alexandretta, where I was to re-imbark.

The new Governor had appointed me an Eſcort of a hundred Horſe; to which he added an Alay-Tchaooche, and a Kettle-Drummer; and accompanied this honourable Diſtinction, which only belongs to the Pachas, with two of his led Horſes. I accepted this Kindneſs the more wil-

is paid for according to the Quantity. Neither is an Aſſembly of Spinners, in a Workſhop, what a wiſe Adminiſtration ought to permit; in which the firſt great Care ſhould be the Præſervation of Health and Morals. A mode was propoſed to Government of increaſing and bringing the Art of ſpinning to perfection, yet to have the Work done at home, which in time would have baniſhed Poverty: Permiſſion was aſked, but the Progreſs of Good-ſenſe is ſlow, and requires Time and Patience.

lingly

lingly as it was a proof that the ſuppreſſion of Preſents, which I had begun, and which was followed by the Conſuls of other Powers, would not ſo much diminiſh the Reſpect ſhewn to Europeans as had been imagined.

This ſuppreſſion had deprived Iſed-Achmet Pacha of the Cuſtomary Preſent, which he would have received on his Departure. I was to encamp by the ſide of him at Kantooman: it was ſuppoſed he would think himſelf releaſed from every Obligation of Politeneſs towards me; for which, though I entertained great perſonal eſteem for him, I ſhould have cared but little. Yet ſcarcely were my Tents pitched before he ſent to pay me his Compliments, and beg I would make him amends, by a Viſit, for not having ſeen me at Aleppo.

I immediately repaired to his Tent, where, contrary to the uſual Cuſtom, he roſe to receive me. I remained two Hours in Converſation with him, during which I could not but perceive good Senſe and Underſtanding ſufficient to have

prevented

prevented that kind of exile to which he had been condemned. After having communicated this Obſervation to him, we parted, to take ſome Repoſe, and ſet out the next Day by different Routes.

Our ſmall Company lodged the following Evening at Martavan. The ſingular Manners of the Inhabitants of this Village are ſo remarkable that I cannot refrain mentioning the celebrity which it has acquired in Syria. I have been aſſured that another, near it, is governed on the ſame Principles, but has not the advantage of being on the Road, and its Name is hardly known.

Theſe two Villages belong to a rich Individual of Aleppo, who receives their Quit-rent, and poſſeſſes the Right of nominating a Magiſtrate to their civil Juriſdiction. There is no appearance, at Martavan, of any Religion whatever. The Men are wholly employed in Agriculture, and the Women, who are generally handſome, ſeem only intended to welcome Travellers. The Day when any arrive is with them a Feſtival, as it is with the Peſeving-

ſeving-Bachi, whoſe Office is that of Bailiff; but his Buſineſs is more complaiſant, though it cannot be explained. He is to take Orders from the new Gueſts, to ſupply each with *what* he prefers, and to reckon with his Villagers concerning the Profits. Theſe caſual Profits, and the right to receive them, I have been aſſured have been ſold for ten Purſes.

It is very difficult to diſcover the Origin of a Society founded on ſuch extraordinary Principles; in the midſt of the rigorous Laws of Jealouſy, Martavan preſerves a legal Licenciouſneſs, ſo reduced to conſtant Practice that it ſeems the only Prejudice of this ſmall Community. The Headdreſs of the Women of Martavan is peculiar to themſelves; it is a kind of Silver Helmet, engraved and ornamented with ſmall pendant Pieces of Gold. This Cap reſembles that of the Cauchoiſes *(m)*.

The Bailiff of Martavan was not ſo immediately ſucceſsful in aſſembling my Eſcort as he had been in diſtributing them commodiouſly; we did not ſet out

(m) *A part of Normandy near Rouen.* T.

ſo

ſo early in the Morning as I could have deſired. The following Day's Journey brought us to another Village, near which we encamped, at the foot of ſome Mountains, whence we ſet off, before Day, to ford a ſmall River, in order to ſhun the Iron-bridge, which, we were told, had been ſeized on by the Turcomen.

Theſe People, who, during the Winter, reſide in the center of Aſia, and, in Summer wander, with their Arms and Baggage, as far as Syria, to find Paſture for their Flocks, are commonly eſteemed Nomades; but are no more ſo than the Spaniſh Shepherds, who, for eight months together, follow their Sheep among the Mountains of Andaluſia. They are only aſſembled in a more numerous Body, in order to ſeize on, if they are oppoſed, the Paſtures they find proper for their purpoſe (N).

They never attempt to attack, nor make War without being provoked; but my Eſcort had reaſon to fear their Reſentment; the Troops of Aleppo had juſt had a Skirmiſh with them, in which a ſmall number of Turcomen, who had impru-

dently ſeparated from their main Body, had been roughly handled by the Cavalry of the Pacha. In order therefore to ſhun them, the Detachment which accompanied me took a circuit by the Mountains as far as Antioch; where we encamped on the Banks of the Orontes, after having paſſed over the Ruins of that celebrated City.

Its ancient Boundary is ſtill to be diſtinctly perceived; it forms a Parallelogram, and ſtands on a rough Declivity, extending to the top, to prevent its being attacked from above. The Walls, which run along the Orontes, preſent a complete piece of Workmanſhip, ſtill in high Preſervation. Towers, the only mode of Defence in thoſe remote Times, are remaining, which have been built with vaſt Care. On the ſide of the Mountain are, likewiſe to be found, the Ruins of Edifices, which theſe Walls once encloſed; but none of them appeared to me very remarkable.

My Eſcort, perpetually poſſeſſed with Fears of the Turcomen, and anxious to avoid

avoid them, obliged me ſtill to continue my Journey along the Mountains, beyond Antioch, in order to go round the Lake of the ſame name, by which we ſhould be ſeparated from theſe formidable Enemies. We journeyed on, very quietly, and our brave Cavaliers performed their Evolutions, when, on a ſudden, I perceived them turn, and ride towards us. The Commander of the Detachment then ſhewed me the Tents of the Turcomen, pitched on the Banks of the Lake, near which we were to paſs. He appeared uncertain what meaſures to take, but what was proper for me to do did not ſeem in the leaſt doubtful: I muſt continue my Journey. I perſuaded my Eſcort they had nothing to fear in my Company, provided they offered no wanton Inſult to the Turcomen. I was quite certain, when I gave this Advice, that my Guards were not very likely to neglect it; but it was no eaſy Taſk to keep my Company in good ſpirits, within ſight of ſix or ſeven thouſand Aſiatics, whoſe peaceable Intentions were at leaſt doubtful.

I took care to cover my Escort with my small Troop of Europeans; and we continued to march on, in this order, which had no very hostile Appearance, when we perceived a motion in the Enemy's Camp, from which several of the Turcomen advanced to meet us; and I soon had the Musicians, of the different Hordes, playing and dancing before me, all the time we were passing by the side of their Camp. I took leave of them, by presenting them with that Reward the hope of which had brought them to attend us, and with which they were very civil to go away contented.

We lodged, the same Evening, at Mahamout-Kan, a kind of Castle at the entrance of the narrow Passes of Baylan (*n*). We crossed the Mountains the next day. The Turkish Government, in favour of Commerce and Travellers, has appointed Escorts for their security; who, to render themselves more necessary, take care

(*n*) A continuation of Mount Lebanon: these Mountains, inhabited by the Curds (O), join to those of Caramania.

to

to pillage thoſe who refuſe to employ them; but, as the manner in which I travelled prevented this, they endeavoured to recommend themſelves by their great Attention.

I found a Body of them on the ſummit of the Mountains, who were very deſirous, on my approach, of taking upon them the defence of my Perſon, without regard to the Detachment of Cavalry, by whom I had been, till then, ſo well protected; but I poſitively aſſured the Commander of this Infantry that, with thirty Europeans, I was more able to guard him than he was to defend me; and he gave up his pretenſions. I could not, however, refuſe him the Permiſſion, he politely requeſted, of accompanying me to ſome diſtance; nor was I ſorry to have the Society of a Native, capable of anſwering the Queſtions I might wiſh to aſk, as I travelled: he, accordingly, followed only by two of his Soldiers, walked on foot, by my Horſe's ſide.

He informed me that the Curds, his Countrymen, often revolted, and were

never under ſubjection; that their love of Pillage rendered his Situation very troubleſome, and that I ought to recommend to the French, whom he had a greater regard for than any other Infidels, always to apply to him, and uſe him well. I, in my turn, endeavoured to perſuade him he would certainly be hanged, if any Misfortune happened to our Merchants; but I fancy neither of us regarded what the other ſaid.

While we were thus talking, I perceived, at a diſtance, a diſmal rugged Mountain, which ſeemed likely to be the Retreat of wild Beaſts. Have you, ſaid I, any Tigers in theſe parts? Tigers! anſwered he, lowering his Voice; if you would wiſh to find ſome, do but alight, and I will ſhew you ſeveral, not thirty Paces from us. He expreſſed himſelf in the ſame tone a Gamekeeper would inform Sportſmen of a Covey of Partridges: but, as this kind of Sport was not much to my liking, I diſmiſſed my Companion, after giving him a few Crowns for the trouble he had taken.

This

This day's Journey, employed in paſſing Defiles and Rocks, brought us to the Village of Baylan, three Leagues from the Sea. We encamped on the narrow ſteep, on which it is ſituated, and were in ſight of the Road where the Frigate lay, in which we were to re-embark. There was ſufficient Day-light for us to reach the City of Alexandretta, ſituated on the Sea-ſhore; but the Air is ſo peſtilential I was perſuaded not to ſleep there.

Baylan is, for that reaſon, a place of Refuge, for thoſe Factors whom Commerce brings to Alexandretta. Yet, notwithſtanding the care they take to continue in that unwholeſome Atmoſphere as ſhort a time as poſſible, and return to Baylan, to breathe in one more healthy, they ſeldom reſiſt, long, the pernicious Effects of this mephitic Air. This is certainly owing to the neighbouring Marſhes; but the deſtructive quality of theſe Vapours is to be derived from Cauſes more remote. Indeed, it is evident that, the Mountains round Alexandretta, being too high to ſuffer them to eſcape, by uniting

and condenſing them, in this burning Climate, are the real Cauſe of the noxious Air of that City; nor have I ever obſerved an unhealthy Air, without diſcovering its Cauſe, in a Situation every way ſimilar *(o)*.

Alexandretta was the termination of our daily Encampments, of which, I began to grow tired. We arrived there time enough to conclude the buſineſs I had to tranſact before Night; and, after having ſatisfied the Avidity of my Eſcort, I went, in the Evening, on board the Atalanta, and, the Wind being favourable, we weighed anchor immediately, and had ſtill time enough left to double Cape St. Andrew.

To the ſouthward of this Head-land, the moſt eaſterly of the Iſle of Cyprus, towards which we were directing our courſe, is ſituated the City of Famagooſta, ſo famous for its reſiſtance againſt the Turks, when they took it from the Vene-

(o) The Vapours, from the Rice-grounds of Egypt, meet with no Obſtacle to impede their Paſſage; they paſs off freely, and therefore never corrupt.

tians,

tians, and for their treachery towards the Commander who ſurrendered this City.

We found ourſelves, the next Morning, oppoſite the Cape called the Greek-Girls Cape; and anchored, before Noon, in the Road of Arnaca, where the French Merchants and Conſul reſide. The Town, which for its commercial convenience is preferred to Nicoſia (p), is ſituated a quarter of a League from the Sea. The Houſes of the different Conſuls, thoſe of the Merchants, and the Affluence which Commerce always procures to the Inhabitants of the place in which it is eſtabliſhed, give this little Town a very agreeable appearance.

The Revenues of the Iſle of Cyprus are appropriated to a Sultana; and this Kingdom, diſmembered from the Venetian Territories, is, at preſent, governed by a Muſſelim, who, as well as the Greek Metropolitan, reſides at Nicoſia. The Adminiſtration of theſe two Chiefs, the one in Temporal and the other in Spiri-

(p) The Capital of the Iſle of Cyprus.

tual

tual Matters, has produced its Effects ſo rapidly that the Advantages and Productions of the Climate have not been able to ſtand againſt them; and this beautiful Country only preſents a Picture of Deſolation and Miſery. Amorous-Fountain, Amathon, and Paphos, only contain a few wretched Inhabitants, covered with Rags.

The Taxes, with which the Cyprians are loaded, were, originally, impoſed when the Iſland was much more populous, but muſt ſtill be ſupported by a far leſs number of Inhabitants; and this, forcing them to emigrate, increaſes every Year the Miſery of thoſe who cannot eſcape ſuch horrible Tyranny. But the Means they are forced to employ to ſatisfy overgrown Impoſition, by exhauſting the only real Source of Riches, will ſoon avenge them of their Tyrants, and oblige them to participate in the Wretchedneſs of their Slaves. The Wines of Cyprus, that depend for their Sale on their Quality, which they can only acquire by Age, and being properly drained when firſt made, have already loſt their

their Value, by the exportation of old Caſks, from remaining in which they acquired a particular flavour, and which formerly were not to be bought, but which Poverty has long ſince obliged them to ſell. The Venetians have obtained the moſt ancient; but private Intereſt, when it gave way to this Speculation, did not foreſee that, by inverting its mode, it muſt injure itſelf; and that a meaſure which takes from the Cultivator the power of cultivating to the greateſt Advantage, by rooting up the Vine, muſt render the Caſk uſeleſs *(q)*.

The abundance and variety of Productions, which ſpontaneouſly cover the Iſle of Cyprus, make us regret that Tournefort, the celebrated Botaniſt, ſhould have neglected to viſit this Iſland. The Reſearches, which might there eaſily be made, would not need to be extended over the

(*q*) The Wines of Cyprus generally have a ſtrong taſte of Pitch, which they derive from the Skins in which they are put, pure from the Wine-preſs, till they are poured into the Caſks. Theſe Wines loſe that taſte when they grow old; and have the good Property, if they are genuine, of never becoming ſour.

Coaſt

Coaſt of Caramania, where it would be more dangerous to herborize. The proximity and ſimilarity of the Soil of Cyprus, to that of the Continent of Aſia, leave no doubt but their vegetable Productions are perfectly alike; and I was ſorry the Seaſon was not proper for the Enquiries of a Young Naturaliſt, whom M. Poiſſonnier had placed on board the Frigate as principal Surgeon.

We left Cyprus, coaſting the Iſland quite to its weſterly point; whence the Frigate took its departure for Rhodes, and anchored oppoſite that famous Tower where the Valour of the European Nobility, diſputing the Laurel with the great Soliman, yielded nothing but the Field of Battle.

Several Armories, of the Knights Hoſpitallers, are ſtill to be ſeen in the City of Rhodes; and this Iſland, originally the Terror of the Turks, is ſtill formidable to all the Archipelago, by the maintenance of two Galleys, intended to defend it from the Malteſe Corſairs, but which only ſerve to give diſturbance to the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Iſlands. The Govern-

Government of Rhodes is given to a Pacha of two Tails, who is frequently absent. The Nasir (r) is, next to him, the most dangerous Person; and the Abuse of his Authority falls more particularly on the Europeans. He who possessed this Office, when I arrived at Rhodes, had rendered himself dreaded by his Extortions; but, covetous with one hand and liberal with the other, he always purchased Impunity with the Produce of his Oppressions.

Such is the System which governs the Ottoman Empire: It connives at the Profits made by the Ministers of the Porte, and the Grand Seignior finds this the Fountain which fills his private Treasure. In no case can any thing, once seized, return to the Oppressed, from whom it has been extorted; and the Raya, who knows well that Complaints can only cause a Division of the Cake, and at the same time excite fresh Appetite, is wise enough to keep silence.

I shall not speak of the particular Customs of the Inhabitants of Rhodes; nor

(r) Superintendant of the Customs.

of

of what is moſt remarkable in this Iſland. Theſe have been deſcribed by the Count de Choiſeul-Gouffier; and, as his Voyage contains an account of the reſt of Greece, which remained for me to viſit, I ſhall confine myſelf to an Examination of the Turkiſh Government, at a diſtance from their Capital. (P) I ought, however, in order to accompliſh the Purpoſe I propoſed in writing theſe Memoirs, to bear Teſtimony to the Accuracy of the Count de Choiſeul. He has neglected nothing of Importance, and certainly deſerves great Praiſe for having deſcribed Ancient Greece, without ever confounding it with thoſe Peculiarities which characterize the Modern.

The bad Weather concurred with the Diſcharge of my Duty to make me paſs a part of the Winter at Smyrna; we left Rhodes, and coaſted along Aſia (s) on our way to that Port. (Q) This Paſſage, which at any other time would have afforded us the moſt charming Proſpects, was ex-

(s) It is in theſe Latitudes that the fineſt Spunges are found.

tremely

tremely diſagreeable; eſpecially oppoſite the Gulph of Stanchio. We there met with a very violent Storm, and, after having beat about near the Cape, all night, we bore away the next day for the Rocks of the Pacha.

A ſhort time after we had gained this Shelter, we ſaw a Venetian Veſſel arrive, which came to anchor near us. The Captain informed us that, as ſoon as the Gale came on, not knowing where to direct their Courſe, nor able to take an Obſervation, they had faſtened to the Prow an Image of the Virgin Mary, to which they had committed the Guidance of their Veſſel. In this manner theſe very fortunate Mariners had traverſed a Sea replete with Rocks; but it is terrible to reflect that nothing more is neceſſary than ſuch a ſucceſsful Accident to inſure their Deſtruction the next time they were in Danger.

As we paſſed between the Spalmadore Iſlands and the Port of Tcheſmai, I had an opportunity of ſeeing the Stage on which Ignorance had played its moſt capital Part. There were Perſons ſtill employed

ployed to weigh up the remainder of the Braſs-cannon, ſunk in this Gulph; and thoſe to whom this Buſineſs was entruſted applied to their own profit as many Fragments as they could convey away, to ſell to the beſt Bidder (t).

At a ſmall diſtance from Tcheſmai, we doubled Cape Cara Boornoo, which forms a ſpacious and deep Harbour, at the bottom of which the City of Smyrna is ſituated. This Port is the emporium of Aſia; and may be conſidered as the principal ſeat of Commerce, in the Levant, both for Exports and Imports. The riches of ſome Perſons of large Property, maintain in the Environs of Smyrna a Syſtem of Independence, the Progreſs of which increaſes every day. They rely

(t) Such methods of making Advantage, at the expence of the Grand Seignior, have been ſo impudently practiſed that a Pacha, of the Morea, has been known to ſaw off the Muzzles of the Cannon, at Coron, to ſell the Metal: this ingenious mode of robbing the Artillery, without diminiſhing the number of Pieces, may have been blamed, but it certainly was never puniſhed.

prin-

principally on the Power of Money, and this Power is irreſiſtible.

It is likewiſe to be remarked that the Efforts made by the Porte, for ſome years, to deſtroy one of theſe Agas (u), have leſs terrified the reſt than ſhewn the weakneſs of the Deſpot. It even increaſed their Pride to ſee the Capitan-Pacha ordered to go, in perſon, and inveſt the houſe of their Companion; and the Cruelties which that great Admiral exerciſed, after his Victory, on People without Defence, whom he maſſacred in a moſt mercileſs manner, can have no other effect but to produce a more obſtinate Reſiſtance in any other caſe of the like nature. (R)

From theſe Agas Commerce procures its Returns; receives Cotton, and brings back other Commodities, balancing its Accounts in Specie. Sometimes, indeed, it is ſubjected to ſome little Extortions; but the intereſt of Trade always preſcribes Law to both Parties, and the Miſchief is ſeldom ſo great as to diſunite them.

(u) This is the Title given to all Rich Men without employ; and eſpecially to wealthy Landholders.

The Commerce of Smyrna extends its Branches over the whole of Aſia Minor; by the means of Caravans, they carry our Languedoc Cloths, which the Merchants of the Country buy wholeſale, to ſupply the interior Parts of thoſe extenſive Provinces.

Nothing now remained to complete my Tour, but to Coaſt the European ſide of the Archipelago, which I therefore croſſed, to Salonica, one of the great Pachaliks of Turkey in Europe.

At the entrance of the Gulph, which leads thither, we ſee the famous Mount Athos, at preſent called Monte-Santo, and only inhabited by Greek Monks. Some Narratives have pretended they poſſeſs a Collection of valuable Manuſcripts; but it is much more certain they do not read them. It is equally true that the Books of the ancient Theſſalonica, as well as thoſe of Conſtantinople, have been, ſince the Conqueſt of thoſe places, locked up; and that the Barbarians have poured melted Lead into the Locks, ſo that the Remains of Grecian Literature, delivered into

into the hands of Superſtition and Ignorance, are ſo carefully concealed, by thoſe Enemies of Learning, that we can ſcarcely flatter ourſelves we ſhall ever be able to recover any Fragments of it from their Tyranny.

The nature of the Turkiſh Government is well diſplayed at Salonica, by the Oppoſition which Deſpotiſm there experiences from the Soldiery. The turbulent Spirit of the Military Force, which always increaſes, when oppoſed by feeble Meaſures, and ſeizes, itſelf, all the authority of which it can deprive the Sovereign Power, has uſurped the Government of Salonica. Many Pachas have ſucceſſively been its Victims; but this Oppoſition to Deſpotiſm, far from deſtroying its Effects, only ſerves to increaſe its Tyranny; and the Janiſſary Aga, the Officers who command under him, and every private Janiſſary, are ſo many Tyrants, whom the Porte oppoſes with Caution, the Pacha fears, and who are the Terror of the whole Country.

The Practice uſual with the Turks, of keeping permanent Garriſons, added to the want of Diſcipline among the Troops, give them, in ſome ſort, the Property of the Place at which they are ſtationed; they there exerciſe Rights conſecrated by Cuſtom, which they unite to maintain, though entirely oppoſite to the good Order of the State.

It is on this Principle that the Galiondgis monopolize the Sale of Lambs, at Conſtantinople, and force People to buy them. The Turkiſh Soldiers, in every City, enjoy Privileges of the ſame nature; and their Union gives freſh force to the ſpirit of Fraud which attacks the Treaſury. This Knavery prevails over all the Coaſts of the Archipelago; where the exportation of Corn is the principal Article of Clandeſtine Commerce.

The Prohibitions of the Grand Seignior, ſo much the more ſevere as he is himſelf the Monopolizer of this Commodity, are of no effect; and the Commanders of the Galliots, employed to prevent the Exportation, are the firſt to promote

mote it, for a proper Conſideration paid them in advance. They then fix the Station of the Galliot, and that where the Ship ſhall take in its illicit Loading, with the time which ſhall be allowed for that Purpoſe. The Country Boats bring the Corn from the Coaſt, and Grecian and Turkiſh Veſſels are employed in the ſame Service; nothing of which is noticed by the Galliot; and Covetouſneſs, taking advantage of Negligence, gives itſelf up to every kind of Fraud.

The cutting of Wood, upon the Coaſt, is equally an Object of Pillage. The moſt powerful Individual of the Country aſſumes the Right of diſpoſing of this Property; and the Navigator, who buys fraudulently, and endeavours to better his Bargain, neceſſarily encourages this Spirit of Rapine, which annihilates all good Order, and cauſes the State, which furniſhes him with Sailors, to ſuffer inconceivable Loſſes.

On leaving Salonica, I paid a viſit to the Iſlands of St. George of Squire, Paros, Naxia, and Sira. Theſe Iſlands, as

well as thoſe which fill the Archipelago, are either given as a Revenue to ſome Individuals, who diſpoſe of them as they pleaſe, or are under the immediate Government of the Capitan-Pacha; but the Inhabitants, whoſe common intereſt it is to keep all Turkiſh Officers at a diſtance, always ſolicit the farming of their own Iſlands. Deſpotiſm, alſo, has its Views, and muſt ever have ſome head to cut off, or ſome wretched Criminal to hang; the Republican Form of Government, which is always that of little Societies, cannot therefore accord with theſe views. It muſt have a Head, a ſubaltern Deſpot; and the Greek, who obtains this Dignity, ſeldom deceives its Hopes.

On our Departure from Sira, we ſet ſail for Naples of Romania. This City ſtands at the bottom of the Gulph which bears its name, and which, with that of Lepanto, forms the Peninſula of the Morea. (S) It was then the Reſidence of the Pacha who governs this part of Turkey in Europe. He had been obliged to take refuge there, to ſecure himſelf from the Tu-

Tumults which laid waſte the Morea; and which were owing to the Albanians having been employed, to defend it againſt the Invaſion of the Ruſſians.

Theſe Troops the Porte was deſirous to get rid of; but they refuſed to depart without the payment of their Arrears, which they alledged were due and kept back. The Grand Seignior required implicit Obedience; the Albanians demanded to be paid; and their Demands continually increaſed with their Inſolence. The Pacha, charged with the Negociation, had neither Money nor Forces to conduct it properly; his Orders from Conſtantinople, nevertheleſs, preſſed him to finiſh it; and ſome rigorous Proceedings, always miſplaced when they cannot be ſupported, only ſerved to unite the Revolted, whoſe firſt Exploit was to ſeize upon Tripolitza, the Capital of this Kingdom.

The Retirement of the Pacha had been dictated by his immediate Fears; but he had his Fears of the Porte, as well as of the Albanians. His Situation was embarraſſing. I had known him at Conſtanti-

nople, while he poſſeſſed the Office of firſt Equerry, and I found him buſy in making Preparations for the Siege of Tripolitza.

This Turk, accuſtomed to ſee me employed and entruſted by the Grand Seignior in all military Operations, made no doubt but I ſhould exert myſelf in the Reduction of the Rebels of the Morea. The Army he had collected, the Command of which he deſigned for me, was only compoſed of Volunteers; his domeſtics were of the number, and this Body appeared more animated with the expectation of Plunder than the love of Glory.

I obſerved, likewiſe, that the Pacha, very certain of both, if he ſucceeded, made uſe of his Authority to prevent expoſing his Perſon. I amuſed myſelf for ſome time with his Embarraſſments and Importunities, and, at length, concluded, by telling him, I neither ought, nor was able, to take upon me a Commiſſion ſo foreign to that with which I was entruſted. He thought this only proceeded from my Ill-will towards him; and I had no more ſucceſs when I endeavoured to perſuade him

him he himſelf was the only Perſon proper to conduct this Enterprize, in which his Preſence could have more effect than that of the military Force under his Command.

His Determination to remain at Naples of Romania was not to be ſhaken. I left him a Prey to the diſorder of his Ideas, and the abſurdity of his Projects *(x)*, and departed for Tunis, where I was to finiſh my Inſpection.

After having touched at Malta, and put into Lampadooſe, we doubled Cape Bon, and anchored oppoſite the new Caſtle of the Gooletta, whence I ſailed to Tunis.

This City, ſituated on the Border of a Lake, or rather a Shallow, which has the form of a Lake, and communicates with the Gulph by a narrow Channel, is tolerably large, well built, and paſſably defended, by the Fort on the Sea-ſide, and by ſome ſmaller ones on the Heights which

(x) I was, however, obliged to ſhew the Commander of the Artillery the uſe of Grenade Mortars, and the manner of preparing their Fuzees; but it was long before the Porte could quell the Diſturbances in the Morea.

ſurround

ſurround it. This Situation, probably firſt choſen by ſome Fiſhermen, to whom that of almoſt all the maritime Cities is to be aſcribed, appeared to the Tuniſians to be preferable to that of Carthage; as ſoon as, enriched by Rapine, they dared openly to attack the Trade of every Nation.

It might well be expected that their Piracies would invite them to ſecure themſelves from a Bombardment. The Eminence on which the Ruins of Carthage, that ancient Rival of Rome, are ſtill to be ſeen, advances into the middle of the Gulph, and, on that account, would have expoſed the Tuniſians to be taken by Surpriſe, the only kind of Attack which they have to dread, ſo long as the Policy of Europe, with its Teleſcope in its Hand, to aſſiſt its Obſervations on diſtant Countries, ſhall not be able to diſcover what is really to its Advantage.

The Aqueducts of Carthage are ſtill to be ſeen, near Tunis; and about ſix Leagues within the Land is the great Reſervoir for Water, certainly the only Monument of thoſe Times which preſerves

ſerves any appearance of Magnificence. The Ruins, heaped up on the Eminence, undoubtedly have none; and it is only by diligent ſearch that any Traces of it can be diſcovered in the golden Medals, which Time has been unable to deſtroy, and of which I have ſeen a Collection, at Tunis, that appeared to me very valuable.

The Dignity of Bey is hereditary; his Authority is abſolute, and extends into Africa, over a vaſt Tract of Country, of which he receives the Tribute, with a ſmall Army, which marches out annually for that purpoſe.

This Revenue is added to the Tenths, the Capitation, the Share of Prizes, and the Cuſtoms, which the Sovereign receives. But the Trade and Induſtry of the Tuniſians are the real Baſis of their Riches, and produce a ſort of Affability, which diſtinguiſhes them from other Nations on that Coaſt.

The Bey reſides at ſome diſtance from the City. His Reſidence is named the Barda; and this Palace, encompaſſed with Walls,

Walls, and flanked with Towers, preſents us, within, with a Magnificence not promiſed by its exterior Appearance. What I thought the moſt remarkable was a very ſpacious Court, ſurrounded with Buildings, raiſed on a Colonnade of white Marble. There are likewiſe Apartments, very elegantly fitted up for ſuch a Country; but thoſe who have formed their Judgment of the Barda only from the Hall of the Divan, in which the Bey receives Strangers in form, will conceive no very high Idea of its Grandeur.

It was, perhaps, in order to add to mine, that the firſt Miniſter appointed me a private Audience in the Hall of the Treaſury. I know not whether the Coffer, which ſerved us for a Seat, was full of Gold, as well as the reſt with which that Hall was filled. I only ſaw a Wardrobe, or, rather, the Back-ſhop of an old Clothes-man, where the Commodities he deals in are heaped up; but I was not the leſs delighted with the Good-humour, Underſtanding, and Penetration of

of this Barbarian, with whom I was to tranſact my Buſineſs.

I had alſo a particular Audience of the Son of the Bey, then reigning, and who has lately ſucceeded his Father. I had been previouſly informed of the Timidity of this young Prince, and took great care to inſpire him with Confidence.

I have ſeen, at Barda, a great number of Slaves of all Nations; but the ſight never oppreſſed me with thoſe diſmal Ideas uſually entertained, with reſpect to their Condition. I ſaw them well clothed, well fed, and well treated; and I doubt whether numbers of them, even thoſe who are Home ſick, would have any great reaſon to rejoice in a Ranſom. It is poſſible, indeed, that the Slaves ſold in the interior part of the Country, or to ſome private Perſons, who only purchaſe them on Speculation, may not be ſo fortunate as thoſe who ſerve the Sovereign, or great Men. It is, however, to be preſumed that the Avarice of their Maſter militates in their Favour; and, after all, it muſt be confeſſed, the Europeans alone, ill-

ill-treat their Slaves. The Cauſe of this, no doubt, is that in the Eaſt they amaſs Wealth to buy them; but here they buy them to amaſs Wealth. In the Eaſt they are the enjoyment of Avariee; in Europe its Inſtrument. Let us carry into a neutral Country a Negro from our Colonies, and a European Slave from Tunis. It is before ſuch a Tribunal I would with the Queſtion to be heard.

The Character of the Tuniſians, their Paſſions, and every thing which conſtitutes their Manners, partake of the Influence of the burning Climate of Africa. Though the Imagination of the Rich among theſe People, as well as among the Turks, is neceſſarily ſatiated by a Plurality of Wives, yet the Conſtitution of the Africans, who cannot indulge in the ſame, impels them to greater Errors; nothing ſtops their Ardour; it hurries them even beyond the intended Limits of Nature.

Thoſe who imagine the neglect of Cleanlineſs to be the principal Cauſe of the

the unhealthineſs of Cities will be aſtoniſhed that the Inhabitants of Tunis can exiſt, in the infected Atmoſphere they breathe. It is occaſioned by the putrid Emanations of a Channel, which conveys all the Filth of this City to a neighbouring Lake; which Lake, likewiſe, produces Exhalations that appear no leſs dangerous; and the ſalubrity of the Air of Tunis can only be attributed to the depth of the Valley, which comes down to the Gulph, and which, by attracting the Vapours of the Channel, and the Lake, does not allow them time to acquire that degree of Corruption which would render them hurtful to the Conſtitution of the Inhabitants.

On leaving Tunis, I had an opportunity of obſerving the remains of the Fort which Charles V. of Spain cauſed to be built there. The Sands, caſt up by the Tides, have placed ſome ſmall Diſtance between it and the Sea; which is, no doubt, the reaſon why the Tuniſians have ſubſtituted that of Gooletta in its ſtead.

We

We left this Road to proceed to Toulon; and here I ſhall conclude theſe Memoirs, which I never ſhould have written, had I not believed they might prove uſeful.

Strictures

Strictures and Remarks

ON THE PRECEDING

MEMOIRS;

By M. DE PEYSSONNEL,

Formerly CONSUL-GENERAL at SMYRNA, and CONSUL from the KING of FRANCE to the KHAN of the TARTARS.

In a LETTER to the MARQUIS DE N.

Strictures and Remarks

ON THE PRECEDING

MEMOIRS.

ACCEPT my thanks, Sir, for the Memoirs which you were ſo obliging as to ſend me. I read them with eagerneſs the moment I received them. On a firſt and haſty peruſal, I perceived and admired the elegant wit, vivacity, and multiplicity of talents poſſeſſed by the Baron de Tott, and followed that agreeable writer through a flowery path. On a ſecond and more careful examination, however, I diſcovered ſeveral errors, and was convinced that he had not communicated with ſufficient exactneſs that profound knowledge which a long continuance in Turkey, an accurate acquaintance with the language, and the important affairs in which he has been engaged, muſt have given him of the

government, laws, manners, cuſtoms, and characters of the Turks. He appears, indeed, to have treated in too curſory a manner a ſubject of which we might have expected, from him, a more extenſive inveſtigation: I, beſides, cannot but believe the Ottoman nation may be ſeen in a more advantageous point of view, than that in which it is exhibited in theſe Memoirs.

You have requeſted from me a critical examination of this Work. But this is already to be found in the Mercure of Dec. 25, 1784, No. 52; and I am well convinced that any thing I might produce would be far from equal to the Criticiſm of M. Mallet du Pan. In fact, I do not believe it poſſible, without particular and local knowledge, to form a more accurate general idea of the Ottoman Empire than is there to be found. Thoſe who wiſh to be informed of the true preſent ſtate of the Turks, may with propriety be referred to this ſhort eſſay. M. du Pan, though probably he has never been in Turkey, has made, in his cloſet, obſervations on that nation with the diſcernment of a Monteſquieu.

quieu. It is certainly ſuch as he has conceived, nor do I know any thing which is written with more judgment than his remarks.

In compliance with your requeſt, however, I ſhall do myſelf the honour to lay before you ſome obſervations on the principal errors I have noticed, and point out to you ſome imperfections (*pulchro in opere nævos*) in a work of acknowledged merit and beauty. Indeed I cannot but believe the Memoirs mutilated, and not ſuch as they would have been publiſhed by Baron de Tott: I find in them miſtakes which could not have been made by a man of his abilities and underſtanding, ſo long and ſo well acquainted with the Turks, and ſo perfectly verſed in their language. I am rather inclined to ſuppoſe he muſt have ſuffered by the too common misfortune of a ſurreptitious and premature edition of his Work.

I ſhall now proceed to ſome critical obſervations on the Memoirs, to contribute, as much as in my power, to the perfection of that elegant Work. You are not,

however, to conſider me as a Critic, for I have no intention to deſerve the name; but merely as one who writes remarks in the margin of a book he takes a pleaſure in peruſing, and wiſhes to render ſtill more perfect.

(A*. page 15. P. D.) The Author of theſe Memoirs writes more like Lady Montague than he imagines. His Book is equally agreeable and intereſting to thoſe who know not the Turks, muſt give them infinite pleaſure and engage them to peruſe it with avidity; but people who, by long reſidence among them, are well informed of their manners, cuſtoms, laws, government and language, and who have been engaged in tranſacting a variety of public buſineſs with that nation, will be convinced he is not exact in every particular.

(B. page 16. P. D.) This is a paſſage very injurious to the memory of, perhaps, the greateſt Emperor the Turks have ever had ſince the great Soliman. Sultan Mahmoud, who aſcended the Throne in 1730,

* Theſe Notes are referred to by Capitals in the text. P. D. ſignifies Preliminary Diſcourſe.

and

and died, much regretted, in 1754, certainly ſhed much blood, but never exerciſed, againſt thoſe who rebelled, any other rigor than what his own ſafety rendered neceſſary. He was preſent, it is true, at the juſt Puniſhment of his two favorites, but, no doubt, with a view to render the example more conſpicuous, and give a more extenſive and compleat ſatisfaction to his People, over whom theſe three Monſters had ſo cruelly tyranniſed. This Prince was mild, affable, the Friend of Strangers, and more ſuperior to the prejudices of Mahometaniſm than any Ottoman Prince had ever been. He poſſeſſed great abilities and extenſive knowledge; patronizing, and even cultivating with ſome ſucceſs, the liberal and mechanic arts. In oppoſition to this inſinuation of his Inhumanity, permit me to relate an anecdote, much more proper to exemplify his character, both as a Man and a Sovereign.

He was one day croſſing the ſtrait, incognito, accompanied only by the Boſtandgi Bachi, when he happened to meet the Jew Zonana, *Bazirghian Bachi of the Odjak*,

i. e. Contractor for the Corps of the Janiſſaries. The Boſtandgi Bachi, who was an irreconcileable enemy to Zonana, took care to make his Sovereign obſerve the inſolent pride of the Iſraelite; who, on the ſtern of his boat, with four rowers, reclining, in voluptuous indolence, on a Silkta of Cotton, covered with Satin, and, leaning on two cuſhions of the ſame Stuff, embroidered with gold, was ſmoaking his pipe, in which two of his Domeſtics, on their knees before him, from time to time, renewed the aloes. You are a fool, replied the Sultan. Can you not perceive the ſplendor in which this Jew lives encreaſes my glory; and that the moſt noble panegyric I can receive, from Hiſtory, will be to have it ſaid that, during my reign, the Jews themſelves, the refuſe of all nations, enjoyed, in the greateſt ſecurity, both opulence and liberty? Such an anſwer would not have been unworthy Alexander, Julius Cæſar, or Louis XIV.

(C. page 23. P. D.) The Author has here omitted the moſt remarkable circumſtance in the marriages of the Mahometans, which

which is that the Wife brings no portion to the Husband, but the Husband, on the contrary, assigns a dowry to his Wife. This marriage-portion cannot be registered in the Nikiah, or Contract of Marriage, because it is only stipulated, and is not payable, except in case of the death of the Husband, or a Divorce. In this it differs from the Kapin, which becomes due at the expiration of the term prescribed by the contract. This is so true that, when a woman demands a separation from her husband, on account of ill-treatment, or for want of a proper maintenance, she must give up her portion in the presence of the Judge, and pronounce the following form of words, usual when such a divorce is obtained: *Nikiahum khalal, bachum azad; i. e.* My portion resigned, my person free.

It might have been expected that the Author, when treating of Marriage, would have said something concerning Repudiation and Divorce, but these have not been mentioned. A Divorce, to effect an absolute Separation, must be pronounced three several times, or three times together. As soon as the

the Huſband has ſaid to his Wife, *Benden utche talak boche ol*; i. e. be freed from me by three repudiations, the Divorce is held compleat. The Woman demands back what was her own, her portion, and reſtores the contract; after which the huſband cannot receive her again without ſubmitting to the humiliating ceremony of the Hulla. Some other man, the choice of whom the Law leaves to the huſband, muſt firſt have a tete â tete with the divorced Spouſe, and the huſband muſt certify himſelf that the precept has been fully accompliſhed. The perſon employed in effecting this ſtrange and ridiculous reunion is called Hulla.

(D, page 24. P. D.) It is the Law of *Mahrem*, and not of *Namahrem*, which forbids the ſight of maids and married women to any man but the huſband or relations within a certain degree. The word Harem is Arabic, and ſignifies a prohibited place, being derived from the root *haram*, which ſignifies to forbid. *Namaharem*, on the contrary, is compoſed of the word *mahrem*,

mahrem, forbidden, and the Perſian negative prepoſition *na*, and ſignifies the permiſſion given by the Law to perſons within a certain degree of Kindred to enter the Harem, and viſit the wife. This permiſſion is confined within very narrow limits, and only extends, as far as I remember, to the Father, Uncle, and Brothers of the married lady. The Huſband, however, has authority to give it greater extent, and on this account the perſons to whom this liberty is permitted are ſtiled Namahrems.

The Turks have a pleaſant ſtory of a man who, as is uſually the caſe, not having ſeen his wife till after his marriage, and finding her far from handſome, when, two or three days after their nuptials, ſhe deſired him to name the perſons who were to have the privilege of Namahrem, that ſhe might not endeavour to conceal herſelf from them, returned her for anſwer, I give you free permiſſion, my dear, to ſhew yourſelf to all the men in the world, except to myſelf.

The

The term *Namahrem* is ſometimes uſed to ſignify perſons who have admiſſion to any particular houſe at all times: if, for example, a perſon means to ſay he is allowed to viſit ſome great man whenever he pleaſes; he ſays, in familiar diſcourſe, that he is Namahrem at the houſe of that great man.

(E. page 28. P. D.) The Author ought not to have neglected informing the Public that the Circaſſians alone have the honor of being admitted to the bed of the Sultan. The Turks have an anecdote, univerſally believed among them, though I am far from warranting its truth, concerning the origin of this Prerogative. They aſſure us that one of the Ottoman Emperors, of the laſt Century, having paſſed a part of the night with a Georgian Slave, aſked her, towards morning, if it was almoſt day? She replied, with vulgar Simplicity, ſhe believed it was, becauſe ſhe felt a certain preſſing neceſſity which ſhe uſually experienced about break of day. The Emperor was diſguſted and diſmiſſed her. A few days

days after, he put the ſame queſtion, out of curioſity, to a Circaſſian, who ſupplied the place of the diſgraced Georgian. She anſwered, ſhe perceived the approach of Aurora, for already the morning Zephyr wantoned in her hair.

The Prince, delighted with the delicacy of her reply, declared with an oath, no Georgian ſhould, from that time, be admitted to the bed of himſelf or his Succeſſors.

(F. page 29. P. D.) Georgia is divided into two parts, one of which, bounded by the Black Sea, and containing the Kingdom of Imireta, and the two Principalities Mingrelia and Gouriel, was ſubject to the Ottoman Emperors: the other, which extends to the Caſpian Sea, and comprehends the two Kingdoms of Carduel and Caket, was under the Dominion of Perſia. Prince Solomon, Sovereign of the one of theſe Principalities, and Prince Heraclius, Governor of the other, threw off, the firſt, the yoke of the Turks, the ſecond that of the Perſians. The latter has become the Vaſſal of Ruſſia: the former ſtill preſerves his

his independence. Such is the paſt and preſent State of theſe two Principalities. It cannot be ſuppoſed the Baron was ignorant of what is ſo univerſally known.

(G. page 29. P. D.) I may here, with reaſon, exclaim, *quæque ipſe miſerrima vidi*; for I was myſelf an eye-witneſs of this expedition, which, in 1758, was occaſioned by the extortions practiſed by the Officers of the Porte, on account of the Ichetirah, or regulations with regard to the Corn. The two Hordes of the Noguais of Boodjeak and Jedſan revolted, and Krim Guerai took advantage of the Diſturbance to ſeize the throne of the Crimea. Alim Guerai, the Khan then reigning, with whom I at that time was, in quality of Conſul from the King of France, marched againſt his Competitor, with an Army of an hundred and twenty thouſand men; and, though I was then appointed Conſul general of Candia, I, as well as M. Fornetti, who had been ſent to ſucceed me, could not avoid accompanying him in that Campaign. We followed the Khan as far as the plains between

tween Prekop and Okzakow, where he received the news of his Depoſition. His army diſperſed in a moment, and M. Fornetti and I reſolved to go over to Krim Guerai, who had obliged the Porte to nominate him in his place. We found the new Khan at Kichela, with a part of his troops loaded with the ſpoils of Moldavia, which he had laid waſte. It is ſcarcely poſſible to form any idea of a pillage ſo ſudden and rapid; and it is difficult to conceive how an army of eighty thouſand men could in ſeven days overrun a great Province, and carry off forty thouſand ſlaves and all the flocks, herds, and tents in which they were kept, beſides an enormous quantity of other plunder. We ſaw the plain of Kichela covered, as far as the eye could reach, with male and female Slaves of every age, oxen, camels, horſes, ſheep, and utenſils of every kind piled up at different diſtances.

Krim Guerai, after having given the Ottoman Government a proof of his power, was willing alſo to give as ſtriking an example of his Juſtice. He ſent back all the Slaves, who

who did not amount to above twenty thousand, because many were dead, and others had fled out of the Country. He restored all the flocks, herds, camels, and horses, which he could recover from the rapacity and devouring appetite of the Tartars, and returned to the proprietors all the effects which were found and claimed.

(H. page 33. P. D.) This article of the Memoirs would have been much more interesting if some account had been given of the procuresses, the men of Gallantry, and the *Maanes*, or enigmatical declarations.

The Intrigues of the Women are not commonly carried on by slaves, they seldom contribute more towards them than their secrecy. Affairs of this nature are generally conducted by the Tellal Kari, or dealers in female ornaments, who, whether Turks, Christians, or Jews, have free admission into the Harems, and who frequently lend their Houses for places of rendezvous.

The man of gallantry is a character not strange to the Turks: I have known these intri-

intriguing young fellows and petits maitres, called, in Turkiſh, *Zenpara Tchelebis*, who have kept a liſt of all the women celebrated for their beauty, and employed themſelves perpetually in diviſing ſchemes to obtain their acquaintance, laviſhing all their fortune to procure interviews, and even making their boaſt that they had ſucceeded.

Reciprocal Declarations of paſſion are commonly made by Maanes. This word is derived from the Arabic, and ſignifies meaning, or allegory. It is employed, in the language of gallantry, to denote any thing the name of which may ſuggeſt ſome motto, or expreſſion which rhymes with it. As, for example: perhaps a piſtachio nut, called in Turkiſh *fiſtik*, is ſent; the rhyme to which it alludes is *ikimuza bir iaſtik*, Let us both have the ſame pillow. The word for a grape is *Uzum*, and its rhyme is *Senüm itchun iändum*, I am enflamed with love for you. A thread of Silk, in Turkiſh *Ipek*, has a reference to the rhyming expreſſion *Seni ſeverum pek*, I love you with rapture. Theſe devices are very

numerous, and I have often ſeen manuſcripts of conſiderable ſize, containing nothing elſe.

(I. page 8. Part I.) The Author attributes the profound ignorance with which he reproaches the Turks to the extreme difficulty of learning to read their own language, becauſe, their writing conſiſts only of conſonants, to which the ſigns that ſupply the place of vowels are ſcarcely ever added. If the natives of the Country, who underſtand perfectly the language, find ſo much difficulty in reading it, on account of the multiplicity of characters, and the want of vowels, what muſt be the labor of Strangers, who, having no primitive knowledge of the tongue, endeavor to learn to read and write, and underſtand books which have relation to the abſtract ſciences? Yet, ſurely, the Author contradicts himſelf, when, at page 9, he informs us that, with the aſſiſtance of a Perſian maſter, who was continually drunk with Opium and Brandy, he was ſoon capable of converſing without an Interpreter. We may therefore conclude,

clude, if he made ſo rapid a progreſs; if we have ſeen ſo many learned men, ſuch as the late MM. de Fienne, Armin, Cardonne, Deval; MM. le Grand, Sielve, Fonton, Ruffin, Venture; M. Mouradjea, firſt Interpreter to the King of Sweden; M. Teſta, Interpreter to the Emperor; M. Rali, firſt Interpreter to the Republic of Venice, ſtill living, and many others, who were not inferior to the moſt learned Mahometans, in their knowledge of Turkiſh, Perſian, and Arabic, in the purity of their ſtyle in thoſe languages, or extenſive acquaintance with their literature; we may conclude, I ſay, that the Natives, who know already the words, and by conſequence meet not with ſo many obſtacles, may eaſily attain to read and underſtand the moſt abſtract writings.

(K. page 9. Part I.) The Turkiſh language is originally the ſame with the Tartarian, or language of Zagathai, in which many books have been written. Several manuſcripts in this language are to be found in the King of France's Library, and

perhaps elsewhere. By the adoption of the Arabic and Persian, it has become one of the finest in the world. All copious languages have been formed in the same manner. The Arabic, which is an Ocean, derives its origin from the Hebrew, in itself confined and barren. The English have rendered their's extremely rich and beautiful, by borrowing, from every other, the words wanting in their own: in like manner, the Turks, while enriching their primitive Idiom, by the adoption of the Arabic and Persian, have not given it any particular and exclusive difficulty; and a Stranger would find no more trouble, in learning Turkish, than in acquiring German, English, or any other language equally cultivated and copious.

The different characters are by no means left entirely to the choice of the writer, but are appropriated by custom to particular species of Composition. The *Neskhi*, used in printing, is employed in works of Science; the *Tealik* in Poetry; the *Divani* in the Firmans, or Edicts of Government, and epistolary correspondence; the

Sulus

Sulus for Mottos, and public Inſcriptions, &c. He who is unable to write all theſe different characters writes as well as he can; but if he intends to publiſh a book, preſent a Memoir to a Miniſter, a petition to a great man, or a poem to his Patron, he will take care to have them copied, by ſome profeſſed Writer, in the character aſſigned by cuſtom to theſe ſeveral uſes; in the ſame manner as, with us, a perſon unable to write the law, or other hands, will hire ſomebody to copy his writings in the cuſtomary character.

(L. page 9. Part I.) This paſſage is a very extravagant miſrepreſentation of the truth, and can never have been written by a man ſo well informed as Baron de Tott. Can he deny the Turks are a nation poſſeſſed of great Wit, becauſe, among them, as well as many others, we find ſome who are fond of playing on words, Acroſtics and Puns? Can it be believed that he, who made ſo many accurate obſervations on the Turks, for three-and-twenty years together, ſhould never once have entered a *Madreſſa*,

or College; nor ever noticed in what manner they teach the *Sarf*, or Arabic Grammar, Rhetoric, Proſody, Logic, Metaphyſics, Morals, Natural Philoſophy, Religion, Law and Mathematics, even Conic Sections and Fluxions? Is he to be informed that the Turks are in poſſeſſion of the Elements of Euclid, all the Philoſophy of Ariſtotle, and the entire works of Plato, whoſe ſurname of Divine they preſerve, and whom they ſtile *Filatoun el Lillahi*? That they have likewiſe among them a multitude of Turkiſh, Perſian, and Arabic Books on Grammar, Logic, Metaphyſics, Morality, Hiſtory, Aſtronomy, Aſtrology, and the Cabala; on Geography, Phyſics, Chemiſtry, Alchemy and Medicine; on Law, Theology, and Controverſy; with an infinity of Poems, Fables, Moral Tales, and Romances? Can he deny that, among their works of Entertainment, the Fables of Lockman, the Tales of Naſraddin Khodjea, the Romances of *Leila ve Medjenoun*, of *Jouſouf ve Zeuleikha*; their *Medjemouas*, or Collections of fugitive pieces, and their *Boſtans* (Gardens), or Miſcellanies of light Ana-

Anacreontic Poems have ſome merit? Underſtanding ſo perfectly the Turkiſh Language, can he avoid confeſſing the Turks ſurpaſs every other people in the elegance, good ſenſe, and ingenuity of their proverbs, which are always the ſureſt teſt of the intellectual abilities of any nation? To conclude, has he never paſſed the Evening in a Turkiſh Circle of polite Company, and heard the diſcourſe of their *Muſahibs*, or profeſſional Speakers, who, in order to make their court to the Great, undertake to carry on the converſation, and amuſe the company? Acquainted as he is with all the delicacies of the language, he muſt acknowledge that none are any where to be met with, who can relate an amuſing tale with more grace and elegance. All this, I confeſs, is not ſufficient to juſtify the Turks for having made no greater progreſs in the Arts and Sciences; or for having ſo much neglected Tactics, Navigation, and military Diſcipline; or not correcting the errors too evident in many parts of their Government, notwithſtanding the frequent opportunities they have had for improvement. Indeed, the

more I conſider their Genius and Aptitude, for all the Sciences, the more I blame them for remaining ſo much inferior to the Europeans, whom they are at leaſt two Centuries behind; but the Author of the Memoirs has endeavoured to make them appear leſs enlightened than the Savages of America.

(M. page 29. Part I.) This is a very extraordinary anachroniſm. It was not Sultan Oſman, but Sultan Mahmoud, who was ſtill living when Racub Pacha was recalled from Cairo, after having eſcaped the danger here mentioned. That Prince appointed him ſucceſſively to the two Governments of Aidin and Aleppo, where he continued ſeveral years before he was raiſed to the Viſiriat by Sultan Oſman, Succeſſor to his brother Mahmoud. The following facts are a ſufficient proof of what I advance;

When my Father, Secretary to the Embaſſy at Conſtantinople, was ſent to the Ottoman Camp, together with the late M. de Laria, Firſt Interpreter, to negociate the preliminaries of the peace of Belgrade, his tent

tent was ſtationed near that of Racub, who then held the poſt of Mektoobſchi Effendi, or Head of the Office for foreign affairs. The buſineſs they had to tranſact obliged them to ſee each other frequently, and theſe repeated interviews laid the foundation of as cloſe a friendſhip as can be ſuppoſed to take place between a Turk and a Chriſtian; inſomuch that when Racub was recalled from Cairo, and ſent to Aidin, he turned out of his road, and encamped in the plain of Hadjilaar, only to ſee my Father, then Conſul General at Smyrna. Racub gave him, and all the French who were ſettled there, an invitation to his Camp, where he prepared a very ſumptuous entertainment, at which I myſelf was preſent. The Pacha embraced my Father with much affection, ſaying, *Doſtum Coadjeaduk*; My Friend, we are grown old; and, ſhewing him his beard, which had prematurely become white, See, added he, how the beards look of thoſe who return from Cairo!

(N. page 46. Part I.) I was well acquainted with Moorad Mollach; he was the

the moſt agreeable debauchee I ever knew among the Turks, but I cannot perceive either his ſtyle or his manner in this Dialogue. I am well perſuaded this Converſation paſſed between him and the Author in terms equivalent to thoſe he has employed. He undoubtedly poſſeſſed ſufficient underſtanding to give birth to theſe Ideas, but he would certainly have expreſſed himſelf leſs abſtractedly, and in a different manner. I ſhall, perhaps, be told, a Turk is here made to ſpeak French. I allow it; but to deſcribe the Character of any one by tranſlating his diſcourſe, we ought not to depart too far from his own expreſſions. To give a juſt idea of the Turks, we ought not to begin by dreſſing them after the French faſhion; it would be better even to leave them in their original nakedneſs.

(O. page 56. Part I.) This dialogue between the Baron and the Boſtandji, Commander of the Caſtle of Aſia, is more in the ſtyle and manner of the nation, and alſo more conformable to the intention of the Author.

(P. page

(P. page 64. Part I.) I can never be brought to believe that this paſſage can have been written by Baron de Tott. To aſſert ſo poſitively the Word Sultan never conveys any idea of Sovereign authority, one would ſuppoſe, which is impoſſible, that he had never read the legend on the Coin of the Turkiſh emperors, which begins with theſe words, "*Soultan el Berein*, Sovereign of "the earth, *ve Hakkan el bahrein*, and "lord of the ſea."

(Q. page 64. Part I.) The word *Cham* does not exiſt. The Baron ought not to have adopted it, but corrected the error of the French writers, who, I know not for what reaſon, write it with an *m*. The true orthography is *Khan*. It is not a title excluſively aſſumed by the Sovereign of the Tartars, ſince the Turkiſh Emperors take it likewiſe. Of this the Ottoman money is a ſufficient proof, the legend on which is, *Soultan ibn el Soultan Abdulhamid, Khan damé mulkhow*; i. e. Sultan, ſon of Sultan Abdulhamid, Khan, whoſe reign be everlaſting. The title of Khan

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is certainly equivalent in ſignification to that of Shah, which means King; yet is it very ſurpriſing that the moſt abſolute Perſian Monarchs, who have never aſſumed any other title than that of Shah, ſhould always have permitted the Governors of provinces, in their Empire, to take that of Khan, which is its equivalent, and which they have ever affected. Even in our time, the Governors of the Provinces of Guendja, Guilan, Mazanderan, &c. who have no more authority in Perſia than the Pachas in Turkey, take the title of Khan. For this, I confeſs, I am unable to aſſign any reaſon.

(R. page 65, Part I.) How ſurpriſing is it that a man ſo exact, as Baron de Tott, ſhould fall into ſuch errors! Sultan Mahmoud, who reigned twenty-four years, from 1730 to 1754, and Sultan Oſman his brother, were not the ſons of Sultan Achmed, but Sultan Muſtapha II. his eldeſt brother and predeceſſor. Sultan Muſtapha III. who ſucceeded Oſman, was the ſon of Sultan Achmed, and couſin german, and not

not brother, to Mahmoud and Oſman. The five ſons of Sultan Achmed were Sultan Mehemmed, the eldeſt, poiſoned by Oſman, Sultan Muſtapha III. Succeſſor to Oſman, Sultan Bajazet, and Sultan Ourkhan, who died in the Seraglio, and Sultan Abdulhamid, at preſent on the throne.

(S. page 81. Part I.) This account is not accurate. The Greek Clergy had been irritated, and the diſturbances here ſpoken of excited by a Bull, iſſued by the Pope, nearly about this time, in which he forbad the Catholics to communicate *in ſacris* with the Schiſmatics. The Patriarch Ciril, in Greek *Kirilo*, and not *Kirlo*, a man of a violent ſpirit, and ſuch as he is deſcribed in theſe Memoirs, cauſed a ſmall tract, againſt the Baptiſm of the Latins, to be printed at Venice. This work, immediately following the Bull of the Pope, which had already cauſed much diſcontent, and the Anathema pronounced againſt the head of the Roman Church, and all the Catholic Princes, greatly increaſed the animoſity of the two parties, and drew on the Greeks,

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of the Latin Communion, a violent perſecution, in which the Patriarch Païſios, who is not mentioned in the Memoirs, acted a principal part. The Synod decreed that no Roman Catholic ſhould be admitted to the Greek Communion, without firſt receiving Baptiſm by Immerſion; but the Congregation of the Greek Patriarch was not re-baptiſed, becauſe no other Baptiſm is practiſed in the Greek church, except that by Immerſion. The Greeks, attached to the Latin Ritual, ſuffered Perſecution, adhered to the Baptiſm of the Roman Church, and would not conſent to be re-baptiſed.

(T. page 112. Part I.) This account of the Death of Sultan Oſman is really that of Sultan Mahmoud, his brother and predeceſſor, who, as is well known, ended his life in the manner here deſcribed; whereas Sultan Oſman died in his Bed.

(U. page 131. Part I.) The debaſing of the Coin, here mentioned, was already known in Turkey, and had been practiſed long before by Sultan Mahmoud, who was obliged

obliged to adopt it from a different motive. The anecdote is very remarkable, and deſerves a place here. A French Merchant, named M. Delabat, a native of Lyons, and ſettled at Conſtantinople, an induſtrious, active man, and poſſeſſed of real abilities in his Profeſſion, perceived the Ottoman ſilver money was at ſuch a ſtandard that the remittance of it to Europe would be more advantageous than any other article of exportation from the Levant. Having ſatisfied himſelf, by an aſſay, of the juſtneſs of this Speculation, he converted the produce of all the merchandize he had ſold into piaſtres and izelottes, which he melted down, and, remitting the ſilver to France, found the Profits fully juſtify his expectations. His Succeſs encouraged him to continue this practice; and he might have made an immenſe fortune, had he not divulged his Secret; but he could not reſiſt the vanity of boaſting of his invention: others, therefore, taking the hint, preſently imitated him. Their example was ſoon followed by all the French and foreign merchants, not only at Conſtantinople,

tinople, but, in all the Sea Ports of the Levant; and this deſtruction of the ſilver money, ſo eagerly practiſed by the Europeans who traded in Turkey, diminiſhed the current coin to ſo great a degree that the Porte perceived it, and diſcovered the cauſe. The Ottoman Miniſters then reſolved to reduce the coin to ſo low a ſtandard that no perſon was, afterwards, tempted either to melt it down or ſend it abroad.

(X. page 145. Part I.) According to this account, there muſt be three ſorts of Monks in Turkey, inſtead of two, which were firſt mentioned; but in reality there are but two, and the Author of the Memoirs does not well underſtand the diſtinction between them.

All the Turkiſh Monks are divided into two orders, the *Mevlevis* and the *Bektachis*. The Mevlevis are cloiſtered, and live together in *Tekas*, or Convents, though they have liberty to go out during their hours of recreation.

Thoſe

Thoſe who turn round and howl belong to the order of the Mevlevis, though they have different rules: juſt as our Capuchins, Recollets, and Cordeliers, are all of the Order of St. Francis, though they differ from each other in their regulations and habits. The Bektachis have no Convents, or fixed habitations; they wander about, and are very properly and perfectly deſcribed in the Memoirs. They often attach themſelves to the Great. I have known ſeveral Pachas who have taken them with them when they travelled, and kept them conſtantly in their houſes. The famous Sopa Salan Ahmed Pacha, whom I knew in Candia, had, for a long time, always one of theſe Derviſes with him, who was exceedingly acute, active, ſubtle, and poſſeſſed of conſiderable wit and information. The Pacha repoſed implicit confidence in him, and he had great influence in the management of affairs. I often found it neceſſary to uſe his intereſt with his Maſter; and I had never any reaſon to repent having ſo done.

Many of theſe Derviſes Bektachis uſually follow the Army, when it takes the field; and no *Orta*, or Regiment of Janiſſaries, makes the leaſt motion to change the place of Garriſon, open the Campaign, or perform any Ceremony, but one of theſe begins the march. On ſuch occaſions they commonly have their feet, legs, and a part of the Body, naked; they throw croſswiſe over their ſhoulders the ſkin of a tiger, lion, or ſome other wild beaſt; and carry in their hand a pike, halberd, or battle-ax; and, as they march, ſing verſes in praiſe of the Orta, and offer up prayers for the glory of Religion, and the Proſperity of the Empire. Theſe two orders of Monks have various ſubdiviſions, the names of which I do not, at preſent, recollect.

(Y. page 151. Part I.) This paſſage contains ſeveral errors. To build a Moſque is not a cuſtom followed indifferently by all the Turkiſh Emperors, ſince all have not a Right; that being only to be acquired by Conqueſt. The Sultan, before he can build a Temple, within the walls of Conſtantinople,

ſtantinople, muſt have gained ſome victory over the enemies of the Empire, or have extended the Ottoman poſſeſſions, and thereby merited the Surname of *Gazi*, or Conqueror. Sultan Mahmoud, who had legally acquired this right, by gaining the battle of Groſca, againſt the Germans, and taking Belgrade, never thought of building a Moſque at Scutari, but erected a very beautiful one within the Capital, below that of the Valida, and very near the Khan of the Drapers. When he had reſolved on raiſing this Edifice, he procured from Italy, France, and England, the moſt elegant deſigns and models to be found in Europe, proper for his undertaking. From theſe that Prince, who poſſeſſed great abilities and taſte, formed, himſelf, the plan of his Moſque, which he ſhewed to the Ulemas. They, however, objected, it more reſembled a Chriſtian Church than a Moſque, and adviſed their Maſter to give it a form more agreeable to the Mahometan taſte, that it might not offend the common people. Sultan Mahmoud, obliged to give way to the inſinuations of the heads of the Law, pro-

duced a monſtrous mixture of the European and Turkiſh Style, though ſtill magnificent and elegant. He ornamented the Court of this Moſque with a ſuperb Colonnade, the idea of which was furniſhed by the Church of St. Peter at Rome, which he executed in miniature. He employed in this work the rich columns that had formed the Periſtyle of the ancient Palace of the Kings of Pergamus, which had eſcaped the ravages of time, but were now taken down, and removed to Conſtantinople. Sultan Mahmoud died before this Building was finiſhed; and Sultan Oſman, his brother and Succeſſor, conſulted the profeſſors of the Law, to know whether he might compleat it, and give it his name. The Mufti delivered a *Fetfa*, or Sentence, in which he declared this building, not being finiſhed, or dedicated to religious worſhip, could only be looked on as an edifice the property of which inconteſtably veſted in Sultan Oſman, by right of Inheritance, as heir to his late brother, Sultan Mahmoud; and by conſequence he might take poſſeſſion of and compleat the unfiniſhed building,

building, conſecrate it by the prayers of the faithful, and give it his own name. In virtue of this decree, the Moſque, though built by Sultan Mahmoud, was called *Nour Oſmani*, the Splendor of Oſman: by which name the Moſques erected by different Emperors are uſually diſtinguiſhed.

Sultan Muſtapha III. aſcended the throne in the time of profound Peace. Deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by a work of piety, and not having yet any right to add a new Moſque to the public edifices of his Capital, he cauſed one to be built at Scutari, near the Sea. Several years after, when the Khan of the Tartars, Krim Guerai, in the firſt Campaign of the laſt War with Ruſſia, had laid waſte New Servia, and annihilated the Eſtabliſhments that Empire had there formed, the heads of the Law were eager to honour Sultan Muſtapha with the Surname of *Gazi*, or Conqueror, and the Mufti beſtowed it on him by his *Fetfa*. In conſequence of this Decree, that Prince built, in Conſtantinople, in the *Lalelu Maballa*, or quarter of Tulips, the Moſque which bears

his name, and is denominated *Nour Muſtâpha*, though the common people uſually call it *Lalelu Djami*, the Moſque of tulips, from the name of the quarter in which it is built.

(Z. page 154. Part I.) What are here ſtiled ſchools are in reality regular Colleges, called Medreſſas. The Baron ought not certainly to have been ignorant that there are different ones, appropriated to all the Sciences, according to the enumeration I have made above; and that they contain Scholars of all ages, from thoſe who are ſo young as to have made but little progreſs to the *Sohtas*, or Students, who are arrived at years of maturity. He ought to have known that the Schools for children are called *Mektebs*, and are eſtabliſhments entirely diſtinct, in which are taught reading, writing, and the *Birghilu riſala*, a ſort of Catechiſm, or ſhort treatiſe on the precepts of Religion, and their cuſtomary prayers; and that, on leaving theſe Schools, thoſe who wiſh to proſecute their Studies, and become Sohtas, enter into the Medreſſas.

Neither

Neither ſhould the Baron have omitted an account of the Sohtas, and the uſual progreſs of advancement among thoſe who attach themſelves to the Study of their Laws.

The Sohtas are a claſs of Literati, who, in the Medreſſas, devote themſelves to the ſtudy of Grammar, the Arabic Language, Rhetoric, Philoſophy, their Religious Ceremonies, and Juriſprudence. Some of them arrive at the firſt dignities, while others remain in the ſubaltern places of *Imans*, or Vicars; *Mutevellis*, or Adminiſtrators of the Revenue of the Moſques; *Naibs*, or firſt Clerks to the *Mollahs*, or Judges; or *Mehkema Kiatibis*, Clerks to the Tribunals. Some depend upon their pen, and obtain employments in the public offices; while others, leſs favoured by fortune, unable to arrive at any preferment, maintain themſelves by becoming *Khodjas*, or Teachers of Reading, Writing, and the Sciences; or by copying books, when they can write a hand ſufficiently fair to ſucceed in that occupation.

According to the ſtrict rule, the Profeſſors of the Law cannot be advanced to places of importance, unleſs they have firſt been Sohtas, have gone through a courſe of Study in the Medreſſas, and been advanced to the dignity of *Muderris*, or principal of the College, which is to be granted them by *Berat*, or Imperial Diploma. They are then to become Naibs, or firſt Clerks to ſome *Kadi*, or Judge; then Kadis; and next Mollahs, or ſuperior Judges; with different Salaries, up to that of five hundred aſpers, which is the higheſt. After having been advanced to the *Kadiliks*, or great Judicatures, which devolve to the Mollahs of five hundred aſpers, and lead to the higheſt degrees of preferment, as thoſe of Damaſcus, Jeruſalem, Andrinople, and others, they are advanced to the dignity of *Kiaba Mollahſi*, or Judge of Mecca; afterwards to that of *Iſtambol Effendiſſi*, or Lieutenant of the Police at Conſtantinople; and, laſtly, to that of *Kadiaſker*, or ſupreme military Judge of Europe, or of Aſia.

Theſe are the different degrees through which every one ought to paſs, before he can

can legally arrive at the Pontificate, or place of Grand Mufti, ſtiled *Cheikh el Iſlam*. Theſe degrees are called *Rutbas*; and frequently, by way of Eulogium on any profeſſor of the Law, who has arrived at eminent dignities by his merit and ſervices, they ſay, *Sohtadan ghelme ve rutbeſini doldourmiche adem*, i. e. He is one who has paſſed through every degree from that of Sohta. But the near relations of illuſtrious families, as thoſe of the *Durri zada*, the *Piri zada*, or the *Damad zada*, to whom the Pontificate and other high dignities are a kind of inheritance or patrimony, are frequently diſpenſed by the Sovereign from paſſing through all theſe degrees. The Monarch can grant them Writs, by which they are immediately advanced; but the uſual forms muſt always be ſo far complied with that the perſon, thus raiſed, muſt be furniſhed with the diplomas of all the degrees through which he ought ſucceſſively to have paſſed. Nevertheleſs, theſe diſpenſations frequently occaſion great murmurs among the Ulemas; as they often oblige men of merit, who deſerve a more

more rapid advancement, to remain all their lives in ſubaltern Stations.

They relate an anecdote of one of theſe Students of the law, who, having remained long in the inferior ſtations, while his Juniors were advanced above him, at length arrived at the Pontificate, when he was above eighty years of age. Soon after his promotion, he went with his Treaſurer into the treaſury, and, very gravely bending on his hams, left the refuſe of nature on a heap of bags filled with ſequins. What are you doing, my Lord? ſaid the Treaſurer. *Doſtum ſakſenden ſonra ghelmiche devletun uſtuna ſitcharum:* i. e. Treating Fortune as ſhe deſerves, friend, replied the Mufti; who has come to viſit me now I am too old to enjoy her.

It will be eaſy to perceive, from what has been ſaid, that the Medreſſas, or Colleges, uſually founded with the Moſques, are totally different from Schools, where little children are taught to repeat their Prayers; ſince theſe Seminaries, according to Law, ought to ſupply all thoſe who aſpire to Offices of importance, either in Judicature, the

the Pontificate, or other eminent Dignities.

(A. page 154. Part I.) Piety, and not Superſtition, has multiplied the *Namaz giahs*, and the fountains have been conſtructed by Humanity and Charity. Thoſe who founded the latter, very juſtly, eſteemed it a highly meritorious action to relieve the thirſty paſſenger in the ſtreets, or the parched traveller on the road; and to ſupply them with the means of making thoſe ablutions which muſt, indiſpenſably, precede their prayers. Many have even carried their Benevolence ſo far as to aſſign ſums of money for furniſhing ſnow, during the ſummer, that thoſe who drink, at theſe fountains, may render the water more cool and refreſhing.

(B. page 187. Part I.) It is the office of the Boſtandgi Bachi, to give the torture, to thoſe unfortunate perſons from whom they endeavour, by this cruel expedient, to force a confeſſion of ſomething ſuſpected to be concealed. The place in which it is inflicted

flicted is called *Boſtandgi Bachi Fouroūni*; or the Oven of the Boſtandgi Bachi: which name is given it from its ſituation. Immediately on entering the walls of the Seraglio, by the gate on the ſide of the *Yali Kioſk*, and cloſe to the *Has Bagtcha*, or garden of reſerve, we meet with the barracks of the Boſtandgis, near which is an Oven, uſed by the Bakers to bake bread and biſcuits for their uſe. On one ſide of this Oven is the Priſon, in which thoſe unhappy perſons, who are to undergo the torture, are confined. After the prayer *Yatſou*, which is repeated at two in the morning, when the Boſtandgis are retired to reſt in the barracks, the priſoners are conducted to a place at ſome diſtance, to avoid the interceſſion of the Boſtandgis, who are ſometimes moved with Pity at their ſufferings; and there the Boſtandgi Bachi inflicts, on theſe unfortunate wretches, ſeveral different kinds of Torture. When any one, therefore, is delivered into the hands of this terrible Officer, the common people ſay, he is in the Oven of the Boſtandgi Bachi.

(C. page

(C. page 188. Part I.) There is, perhaps, no Monarch in the world more acceſſible than the Emperor of Turkey. All his ſubjects, indiſcriminately, Mahometans, Chriſtians, and Jews, may, every Friday, when he goes publicly to Moſque, preſent him a petition. The form uſual on ſuch occaſions is ſingular, and merits being deſcribed. Thoſe who imagine themſelves aggrieved, and reſolve to prefer a complaint immediately to the Sovereign, range themſelves in a line, in the ſquare, before the great gate of the Seraglio. Each carries on his head a kind of match, or wick, lighted and ſmoaking, which is conſidered as the allegorical emblem of the fire that conſumes his ſoul. When the Emperor paſſes, and perceives the ſmoak, he ſtops, and gives orders to ſome of his attendants to collect the Petitions, which he receives and places in his boſom. Muſtapha III. who was very attentive to public buſineſs, never failed to read theſe Petitions, and has, frequently, in conſequence of them, performed ſome very exemplary acts of Juſtice, and ſuch as do honour to his memory.

mory. In their Courts of Judicature, there have ſometimes been found bold and reſolute Pleaders, who, perceiving or ſuſpecting ſome prevarication on the part of the Judge, have had ſufficient courage to threaten him with the expreſſion, *Haſſir yakarum*: I will light up the match.

(D. page 188. Part I.) The Memoirs ſay not another word of this written Code, revered by the Public, nor ſo much as tell us how it is named. The Author, inſtead of reciting the Laws, only relates how they are abuſed. If he had taken the trouble to turn over the *Multeka*, which is the written Code here meant, and contains all the precepts of religious worſhip, and the whole of their Juriſprudence, both civil and criminal; if he had conſulted the *Durer* and *Halebi*, its two principal Commentaries; if he had examined the Collections of the *Fetfas*, or ſentences of the moſt celebrated Muftis, and, eſpecially, thoſe of *Ali-Effendi*, the moſt famous of them all, he would have found a multitude of wiſe and well digeſted Laws; and deciſions no leſs equitable

equitable than ingenious. He would have publiſhed theſe, and with reaſon declaimed and thundered againſt the Tyrants and unjuſt Judges, who had rendered them of no effect. Far be it from me to merit the Apoſtrophe he addreſſes to thoſe who have dared to prefer the Juſtice of Turkey, to that of Europe. Far be it from me to have the raſhneſs to attack, or even ſuſpect, the integrity of Chriſtian Magiſtrates. But if any one ſhould weigh in the balance of Equity the inconveniences of the two ſyſtems of Judicature; if, without ſpeaking of the Corruption, Favor, Cabal, Intrigue, Solicitations, and Influence, of men in power, without having recourſe to thoſe views which, among all Nations, degrade and diſhonor humanity; were he only to put in the other ſcale, in oppoſition to the defects of Mahometan Juſtice, the ceaſeleſs Litigations, which, in the courts of Europe, frequently laſt from generation to generation; the Hydra of Forms; the Labyrinth of Rights and Cuſtoms; the privileges of Nobles, Cities, and Corporations; and the enormous expences of Juſtice, which

which have often amounted to ten times the value of the property in diſpute, I ſincerely believe he would find it difficult to decide which ſcale outweighed the other.

(E. page 189. Part I.) The Author ſeems not to have perceived that, in this paſſage, he deſtroys that compleat and dreadful Deſpotiſm againſt which he ſo violently declaims. As ſoon as there exiſts, between the Deſpot and the People, an intermediary Body, whoſe authority is equal, though its intereſts are different; if this Body be the Depoſitary, the Interpreter of the Law, to which the Sovereign is obliged to ſubmit, no leſs than the meaneſt of his Subjects; and if this Body and the Deſpot are obliged, by the Conſtitution, to fear and reſpect each other, Deſpotiſm, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, can no longer exiſt. And, though it is true, as is aſſerted in the next page, that the Monarch may, with a ſingle word, baniſh, or even put to death, the Mufti, and all thoſe of his Body who diſpleaſe him, it is equally true that the profeſſors of the Law may, in an inſtant,

ſtant by ſeditious diſcourſe, or affixing *yaf-tas* or papers, as is practiſed, to the Moſques, or in other public places, raiſe the people, and dethrone or aſſaſſinate the Sovereign. Several Muftis, who have been baniſhed, have been the occaſion of greatly alarming the Monarch. The famous Mufti, Eſſad Effendi, was in baniſhment, when, from his country houſe on the Boſphorus, he excited thoſe riots againſt Sultan Mahmoud which effected the deſtruction of the Kiſlar Aga, Seuleiman Aga, and the Armenian: nor would the Emperor himſelf have eſcaped had he not inſtantly determined to ſacrifice thoſe Favorites.

(F. page 192. Part I.) It is certain the Cuſtom-duties in Turkey are much more moderate than in any other commercial country; and M. de Tott is the firſt who ever queſtioned this Aſſertion. The Francs pay in the proportion of three per cent, from which the Tariff is to be deducted, though it has not been mentioned by the Baron. All Merchandize is eſtimated much inferior to its real value, which, per-

haps, reduces this Tax to two per cent. It is to be obſerved, beſides, that, this duty once paid, every European Merchant, provided with a *Taſkara*, or quittance from the Officer, may convey his Goods to any part of the Empire, without paying any thing more. No extortions are practiſed in the Cuſtoms, on account of the Tarif, and diſputes with the Officers are extremely rare. The French Merchants will never forget the kindneſs and generoſity of Iſak Aga, head Officer of the Cuſtoms at Conſtantinople; who, at the time the plague made moſt dreadful ravages in the Capital, and when his own offices were infected with it, ſhewed ſo much reſpect to the requeſt of the Count des Alleurs, Ambaſſador from the King of France, and ſo much confidence in the probity of the French nation, as to ſuffer their Merchandize to be immediately conveyed to their magazines, without undergoing any examination, accepting the cuſtoms according to their own declarations. Is it not humiliating, to be obliged to oppoſe to this honorable generoſity, the mean behavior

havior of ſome of the French; who, notwithſtanding the menaces of their Ambaſſador, againſt thoſe who could have the baſeneſs to impoſe on ſuch unlimited confidence, dared to give in unjuſt accounts to that worthy Officer, who, though he had too much ſenſe not to diſcover the fraud, diſdained to make any complaint? The ſame Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms indulged, with the like privilege, ſeveral French Merchants, who, in the reign of Sultan Mahmoud, carried on an extenſive trade in jewelry and trinkets, and ſubmitted, with the ſame patience, to like returns of Deceitfulneſs and Ingratitude.

The Natives pay a duty of five per cent, and not ſeven and ten per cent, as the Author of the Memoirs pretends. The Law does not authorize the Officers to exact the Duty in kind, when they pleaſe, but allows the Merchant to pay in this manner, if he think it moſt to his intereſt. This is not a lenity of which the Officer may make a merit, but a privilege to which the Trader is legally entitled, if he imagines the value of his Goods overrated.

Indeed, I do not ſee with what propriety the Baron can adduce the caſe of Fiſh, as a proof of the truth of what he aſſerts; the tax on theſe has no relation to the Cuſtoms, but is received by the Baluſtchi Bachi, or Head of the Fiſhmongers, who purchaſes the *Malikiana*, or Farms the Fiſhery. The Baron is too well acquainted with the cuſtoms of Turkey not to know the truth of theſe Obſervations, and too equitable not to have made the ſame. He ſhould certainly have mentioned the lenity with which the Law treats thoſe who deal in contraband commodities. When any ſuch goods are ſeized, and carried to the Cuſtom-Houſe, the Proprietor may claim and receive them again, on paying double Duty. The Author, I imagine, had no great inclination to compare this mildneſs, of the Turkiſh Laws, with the ſeverity with which thoſe of Europe treat this offence, often puniſhed with death, and almoſt always with the loſs of Liberty.

(G. page 192. Part I.) From this paſſage the Reader naturally expects an abridgment

ment of the *Canoun Seukimani*, or Ordinances of Soliman the Great, which extend to every part of the civil, feudal, and military Juriſdiction, as well as to the expenditure of the Revenue: he will imagine the Author intends to enable him to form a determinate and accurate idea of the extent of the power of the Deſpot, of the bounds preſcribed him by the Laws, and that portion of his authority which he delegates to the Viſirs, Agas, and other ſubaltern Officers in the Provinces, whoſe power is circumſcribed by the Law within various limits. The Reader, I ſay, expects a ſuccinct account of the Turkiſh Juriſprudence, both civil and criminal, ſufficient to give him ſome idea of the Law in its purity, and enable him to diſtinguiſh it from thoſe violations committed by the Officers charged with its execution, and thoſe abuſes by which it is degraded. Inſtead of which the Author contents himſelf with aſſerting that the Viſirs and Pachas, ſent by the Deſpot to be Governors and Farmers of the Provinces, as alſo thoſe they appoint under them in every diſtrict and government, are

ſo many raſcals, who derive from each other the power of oppreſſing and arbitrarily plundering the people, and that the fruits of theſe numerous extortions and villainies all flow into the reſervoir of the Deſpot, which ſwallows up the entire wealth and ſubſtance of the Subject. He loudly declaims againſt the proof by witneſs, by which cauſes are decided by all the Turkiſh Tribunals; againſt the number of falſe witneſſes, which are too eaſily procured for money; and againſt four or five other points of the Turkiſh Law, without conſidering that the teſtimony of witneſſes is the baſis of all criminal proceedings in every country, and that falſe witneſſes are unhappily every where but too numerous, while the truth or falſity of aſſertions can only be diſcovered by the ſagacity of the Judge. In the courſe of this very ſhort diſcuſſion, of ſo extenſive a ſubject, the Author cites ſeveral inſtances, not very honorable to Ottoman Juſtice. But would it be equitable, in order to give an idea of the juſtice exerciſed in the higher Courts of France, to inſtance, as examples, the proceedings

ceedings againſt Sorcerers, the caſe of Father Girard and la Cadiere, of Urbain Grandier, and the Nuns of Loudun, the condemnation and unjuſt puniſhment of Mareſchal de Marillac, of Calas, and many others? Ought not a Writer on ſuch ſubjects to diſtinguiſh between the nature of the Law itſelf and the abuſes of it, which proceed from Ignorance, Error, Prevarication, or Tyranny? The Turks have, no doubt, like other nations, their moments of relaxation and inſanity, in which the Laws loſe their Force, the People their Underſtanding, and the Government its Authority; in which there is no counterpoiſe to the Tyranny of the Monarch, the Avidity of thoſe in Office, or the Rapacity of the Subalterns, in which all good inſtitutions are neglected, and every thing is plunged in Confuſion and Anarchy; the nation is then no longer itſelf, nor can ſtand the teſt of compariſon with others. But would an Author be thought to give us a juſt idea of the French Monarchy who ſhould ſelect the Reigns of Charles VI. Charles VII. and Louis XI. or who ſhould

only describe the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the Commotions of the League, or the Fronde? Baron de Tott certainly did not wish to degrade, in the eyes of the surrounding kingdoms, a nation which has been so glorious during so many ages; which has made the most extensive conquests, and produced so long a list of Monarchs and great men. A Nation which, in the last Century, carried its victorious arms to the very walls of Vienna, and, even in our time, in the year 1739, triumphed over the united efforts of the Germans and Russians, and concluded, after a brilliant victory, the glorious peace of Belgrade. How unjust to represent such a Nation as a swarm of lawless Barbarians, without order, justice, manners, or character, ignorant of the first principles of every Science, and enervated by the humiliating and enfeebling weight of the most absolute Despotism! Such a charge ought to be much better founded. It requires an immense work to give a just and precise idea of the laws, manners, and customs of the Turks; I shall not engage in such an attempt,

tempt, becauſe I have been indirectly informed ſuch a work is already written, and well written, by a perſon more capable than any other of ſuch an undertaking.

(H. page 224. Part I.) There is a reaſon aſſigned by their laws, though not mentioned in the Memoirs, why the Ramazan ſhould not laſt the compleat interval between one moon and another, which may amount to thirty-one days. This ſeaſon of abſtinence may contain no more than twenty-eight days, but muſt never exceed thirty, becauſe, were its duration longer, it would too much reſemble the Lent of the Chriſtians. I ſhall not ſay, as the Baron has ſaid at the end of the firſt part, "Theſe "reflections may, no doubt, be of uſe to "correct our Ideas," but ſhall content myſelf with ſubmitting them to his conſideration.

I find but few remarks to make on the ſecond part, which treats only of the Tartars, and appears to me the beſt and moſt intereſting. I reſided five years in Tartary, having been ſent thither on an Embaſſy

Embaſſy ſimilar to that of the Baron. Like him, I made a winter campaign with the Tartarian Army, and like him was honored with the Friendſhip of Krim Guerai Khan, to whom I paid my reſpects at Kichela, after his Expedition into Moldavia. From that time he continued to ſhew me the utmoſt kindneſs during his exile at Rhodes and Scio, when I was Conſul General at Smyrna, and again repeated his former favors after his ſecond advancement to the Throne of the Crimea. When I returned from Tartary to Conſtantinople, by land, I followed the Route of the Baron, and traverſed the countries of Moldavia and Wallachia; I may therefore be allowed to confirm the truth of what this ſecond part of the Memoirs contains, relative to thoſe two Provinces, of which I have given a ſuccinct account, in a Work entitled, *Obſervations Hiſtoriques et Geographiques ſur les Peuples Barbares qui ont habité les Bords du Danube et du Pont Euxin*, printed at Paris, in 1765. The Baron's narrative of the manners and cuſtoms of the Tartars is accurate and judicious. This Part, I have no doubt,

doubt, is entirely written by Baron de Tott himſelf, except a few faults which it is impoſſible to attribute to him. What it contains is entirely cônformable to the account I publiſhed myſelf thirty years before; and I am extremely happy to find what I had written corroborated by ſo celebrated a man.

In the year 1755 I tranſmitted to Court a Memoir on the civil, political, and military State of Little Tartary, and in which I had treated thoſe ſubjects with as much method and exactneſs as was in my power. I had the honor to preſent, at the ſame time, a Copy of my work to Count de Vergennes, then Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople. In 1759, on my arrival in that Capital, I had alſo the honor to lay before him a Relation of the Revolution which had placed Krim Guerai Khan on the Throne of the Crimea, and of which I had been myſelf a Witneſs. That Miniſter recommended it to the Notice of the Duke de Choiſeul, who deigned to honor it with his acceptance. The late M. Bignon, and the Abbé des Aulnais, having read,

read, ſome years back, theſe two manuſcripts, were pleaſed to expreſs a high opinion of their value; and, when I was laſt in Paris, did me the honor to requeſt them, and ſome others, of me, to depoſit in the Library of the King, where they are ſtill to be found.

(I. page 4. Part II.) This note muſt have been added by the Editor, who certainly is no Geographer. The River here mentioned, is that which the Turks call Tourla. It was anciently denominated the Tyras, and, afterwards, the Danaſtris, which is the Etymology of the name *Dnieſter*, given it at preſent by the Poles and Ruſſians. The *Dnieper* is a different river, and is the Boriſthenes of the Antients, and in more modern times was called the Danapris, from which the Poles and Ruſſians have formed the name *Dnieper*, by which it is known at preſent.

(K. page 75. Part II.) This privilege was excluſively granted to the Ruſſians, who came to buy ſalt at the ſalt-pits of Precop, and

and not indiſcriminately to all purchaſers. Neither the number of horſes nor ſize of the carriage was limited. The Ruſſian might make his vehicle as large as he thought proper, and employ as many horſes or oxen as were neceſſary to draw it: if it broke down before it had paſſed the bridge on the road to Precop, or had paſſed the Iſthmus, no Confiſcation was incurred, and the fine was the double of the ſtipulated price. This whoſe paſſage is inaccurate. A more circumſtantial and preciſe account of the commerce carried on in ſalt, in the Crimea, will be found in a Work which I ſhall ſoon lay before the Public.

(L. page 79. Part II.) During the four years I reſided at Bagtcheſerai, I eat extremely good bread, which was all made by a Tartar Baker. This Bread was in cakes near an ell long, very thin, very light, and perfectly well taſted. I drank alſo an excellent white wine, of the growth of the Country; great quantities of which are bought every year by the Coſſacks of the Ukrain, and the Ruſſians. It may be com-

compared to our *Vin de Chabli*. I found there in great abundance, and extremely cheap, Turkeys, Fowls, Pullets, Geeſe, and all ſorts of Poultry, which I fattened in my court yard, and were of an excellent flavor. I cannot conceive what were become, (at the time the Author of the Memoirs was in this Country,) of the hares, partridges, wild ducks, buſtards, wood pigeons, plover, lapwings, ſnipes, quails, and thruſhes, with which we were ſo ſurfeited as frequently to prefer butchers meat, and even ſalt proviſions, to theſe dainties; nor where were the freſh Cod and Oyſters, with which Caffa ſo frequently and ſo abundantly furniſhes Bagtcheſerai; the fiſh of Baliklava, the trout of the river Katchi, and the fine lobſters of the brook Boulganak; the melons and water melons, finer and better than thoſe of Provence, the excellent and enormous cucumbers, as large as our long gourds, the artichoaks, or the aſparagus, the largeſt and ſweeteſt in the world, of which I ſent a great quantity to the Count de Vergennes, at Conſtantinople, to tranſplant into the garden of the Palais de

de France, and which have been ſo much praiſed by the Baron himſelf, at page 106; the wanuts and filberts, which he himſelf ſays are ſo remarkable for their ſize; or the Peas and Beans, which he mentions in the ſame page. The man who is diſſatisfied in the midſt of ſuch plenty ought only to accuſe his own abſtinence, or want of care. His reproaching the Tartars with not being able to make butter is the more unjuſt becauſe butter is one of the principal articles of their Commerce. The Crimea produces, annually, about three or four thouſand Turkiſh quintals of this commodity, which are equal to five thouſand of our quintals. Nearly as much is made by the Noguais of *Djamboilook*, and the ſame quantity by thoſe of *Cooban*. The beſt ſort, called *Tchitchek iaghi*, or the flower of butter, is that with which the Grand Seignior's kitchen is ſupplied; and a man muſt be no leſs unfortunate to want butter, in the Crimea, than to be unable to procure wine in Burgundy, or oil in Provence.

(M.

(M. page 93. Part II.) The *Oloo Kani*, (not *Oloo Kanai*) is not Governeſs of the Crimea. This Title, the literal tranſlation of which is great Queen, ſimply denotes a dignity, in the Harem, which the Khan uſually confers on one of his ſiſters, or, if he has none, on one of his daughters or relations. To this dignity are attached the revenues ariſing from ſeveral villages, and other rights.

(N. page 110. Part II.) I have ſpoken, in my *Obſervations ſur les Peuples barbares, &c.* of theſe caverns, which are to be found in the Crimea, both at Tepekirman, half a league from Bagtcheſerai, and the whole length of the northern ſide of the Valley of Katchi. What I have ſaid of them may be ſeen at page 106. My opinion of their uſe is extremely different. I am perſuaded they are the work of very remote antiquity. The prodigious height at which they have been cut, in theſe rocks, and their regular and artificial appearance, reſembling the *Columbaria* of the Antients, on a larger ſcale, induce me to believe they were

were the burying places of the ancient inhabitants of the *Cherſoneſus Taurica*. It muſt have been very difficult for the Genoeſe to lodge their flocks every night in theſe aſylums; which are hollowed ſo high in the rock that it is impoſſible to conceive how they could have been acceſſible, to their Cattle; ſince no avenue, or path, leading to them, can be diſcovered.

(O. page 114. Part II.) No perſon, certainly, can doubt, but the Tartar nation has a moſt ancient origin; nor can it be denied but the Family of Ginghiz Khan is one of the moſt ancient and illuſtrious among the Sovereigns of the World, and that whoſe Empire has been the moſt extenſive; ſince the princes, who have ariſen from that common ſtock, have extended their dominions from the Sea of Japan to the frontiers of Poland; and I cannot but believe, notwithſtanding what is aſſerted in the Memoirs, that we poſſeſs more than mere probabilities concerning the Tartarian Hiſtory, ſince the Hiſtory of the Huns, that immortal work of M. de Guine, gives us

clear, conſiſtent, and well-ſupported information, and contains the annals, certainly not imaginary, of all the Tartar Hordes which have formed the diviſions and ſubdiviſions of that immenſe people.

(P. page 115. Part II.) To criticiſe theſe conjectures of the Baron, on the ancient Atlantis, ſeems properly to belong to Rudbekius, Father Pezron, M. Bailly, or the Author of the *Hiſtoire des Hommes*; I ſhall only obſerve that the Goths, Oſtro-Goths, and Viſi-Goths, whoſe emigrations followed thoſe of the Vandals, were, like theſe latter, Celtic and Teutonic nations, and had neither the ſame origin, nor came from the ſame countries as the Tartars; and that the Tartars, known by the name of Huns, did not overrun the weſtern part of the continent till long after the Goths, and even the Sclavi. Both theſe were, indeed, very diſtinct, and different from the Tartars, both in their languages, and the countries from whence they inundated Europe. The Language of the Vandals, Goths, Oſtro-Goths, and Viſi-Goths, was the Celtic, or Teutonic, the

the mother of the German: that of the Sclavi, the Venni, Vendi, or Venetes, whom we muſt carefully avoid confounding with the Vandals, is the mother of the Sclavonian, Ruſſian, and Poliſh; and the Tartar Language, from which the Turkiſh is derived, has not the leaſt ſimilitude to, nor analogy with, the two others, nor have they any to each other. The Goths came from the North, and originally inhabited thoſe Countries which lay between the Northern Ocean and the Baltic Sea. The Huns, under which general name are comprized all the Tartar tribes who have extended themſelves towards the Weſt, came from the Eaſt, and that flat high land, mentioned by the Author in this latter paſſage, and in which he imagines he has diſcovered the ſituation of the iſland of the Atlantes. It would too much ſwell theſe Remarks to quote here what Pelloutier and ſeveral other writers have ſaid on the origin and progreſs of theſe different nations, or what I have written myſelf, in my Diſſertation on the origin of the Sclavonian Language, and my Obſervations on the Barbarians who

have inhabited the banks of the Danube, and the borders of the Euxine Sea.

(Q. page 118. Part II.) In the Diets, called Kingheches, which are the extraordinary Aſſemblies of the Nobility, or in any other Convocations which the affairs of the State may render neceſſary, the Bey of the Chirins, though the firſt of the Beys, never repreſents the other Beys; he only repreſents his own Family; and of the Beys of other Families, who compoſe the higher Nobility, and are equally ſummoned to the Diet, each repreſents his own.

(R. page 128. Part II.) The Author of the Memoirs ought to have named the family which poſſeſſes this valuable Manuſcript of Tartar Annals, and the Continuer of this Journal, in order that new endeavors may be made to procure it for the French King's Library. I never heard of this Chronicle during my ſtay at Bagtcheſerai; but a learned Tartar, named Hadji Gaffar Effendi, who reſided at Caraſou, one of the principal Cities of the Crimea, has compoſed,

compoſed, in Turkiſh verſe, a ſhort hiſtory of all the Khans of Little Tartary, who have ſucceeded each other ſince the time of Ginghiz Khan. In 1757, he, with the utmoſt politeneſs, preſented me with a copy, gratis. I cauſed it to be tranſcribed at Conſtantinople, by a very fine writer, bound it magnificently, ornamenting it with fillets and vignettes, painted and gilt in the Turkiſh taſte, and had the honor to ſend it from Canna to the Duke de Praſlin, Miniſter for the Marine Department.

We have now, Sir, ſeen the Baron return to Conſtantinople, where the order of events will open a wider field for his zeal, activity, and abilities. The third Volume contains the highly intereſting and amuſing details of his operations in the Capital, on the Strait of the Dardanelles, and that of the Black Sea. But I ſtill diſcover, in many particulars relative to the Turkiſh Nation, ſeveral errors which I ſhall point out; for I ſhall continue to employ that knowledge of the manners of the Turks, which I have had ſo good an op-

portunity to acquire, in endeavouring to plead the cauſe of a nation that has been at all times the friend and ally of France, and with which we maintain a commerce that excites the envy and deſpair of all our rivals; a Nation whoſe glory, till the laſt war, remained ſo undiminiſhed as juſtly to merit the eſteem and regard of all other powers.

Let us now reſume our obſervations, and attempt to obviate the complaints of thoſe who, though, like yourſelf and me, they acknowledge the great ingenuity of the Memoirs, cannot but lament that the Author, having ſo many things to relate, ſhould have omitted a great number, and not always treated the reſt with ſufficient accuracy; ſuch, Sir, was the very expreſſion, as I have been informed, of a perſon of conſiderable judgment, with whom you are acquainted.

(S. page 8. Part III.) Baron de Tott would certainly never have ſaid the Firſt Phyſician of the Grand Seignior was an Italian; he too well knows this diſtinguiſhed place can never be occupied by a Chriſtian,

Chriſtian, of whatever nation, but is always beſtowed on a Mahometan, who is choſen, like the other Ulemas, from the Medreſſas and the order of the Muderris, and may, like them, arrive at the higheſt dignities. Sultan Abdulhamid has lately advanced his firſt Phyſician, Arif Effendi, to the poſt of Kaziaſker. The Firſt Phyſician is honoured with the Title Hekim Bachi Effendi, and wears the large round Turban, called *Eurf*, the badge of the profeſſors of the Law of the firſt claſs. No Phyſician, whether Native or Foreigner, can exerciſe that Profeſſion without his conſent, nor open a ſhop without his licence. The Reader may, perhaps, be ſurpriſed to hear of a Phyſician's opening a ſhop; but ſuch is the eſtabliſhed cuſtom at Conſtantinople, and throughout all Turkey. It is the practice of all the Phyſicians who are Greeks or Jews, and even many Europeans, who are almoſt all Apothecaries likewiſe. The Italian Doctor, mentioned in the Memoirs, was a Neapolitan, called *il Dottor Caro*; I was very intimate with him. He was an extremely

perſonable man, poſſeſſed of Wit, Enterpriſe, Elocution, and great Addreſs. He, for a long time, enjoyed the favor and confidence of Sultan Muſtapha, and made a very large fortune; but ſeveral great men at the Porte, being jealous of his influence, and knowing no other means of removing him, contrived to employ him in ſome political commiſſions to the European Courts, and took advantage of his abſence to ruin him in the opinion of the Emperor. At his return to Conſtantinople, he perceived how much he had been injured, by the inſinuations of his Enemies, and made ſeveral attempts to recover the favor of his Sovereign; but, not ſucceeding, determined to return into his own country, where he died not long after.

The Grand Seignior, in his indiſpoſitions, frequently conſults European Phyſicians, who, when they are ſufficiently fortunate to obtain his confidence, often acquire an influence in matters foreign to their profeſſion; but they are not allowed to adminiſter any remedy to the Sultan without the conſent, and even the preſence, of the

the Hekim Bachi, to whom the care of the Sovereign's health by right belongs. M. Cobis, a German Phyſician, at preſent poſſeſſes, and deſervedly, the confidence and favor of Sultan Abdulhamid, the reigning Emperor. He has given ſeveral proofs, on different occaſions, of his intereſt with that Monarch.

(T. page 26. Part III.) The text of the Baron muſt here have been prodigiouſly diſfigured by the Editor, or Haſſan Pacha had particular reaſons for relating this action in a manner widely different from the account he gave me, three days after the engagement, when he came to Smyrna, where I was then Conſul General.

The Memoirs mention nothing of the two ſhips boarding each other, the ſucceeding event, the long and bloody combat by which it was preceded, or the wounds of Haſſan Pacha. We are only told that the Ruſſian, after having poured in his broadſide, cloſed with the Turk, in order to throw ſome combuſtibles on board him, but blew up in the attempt. If this were a true

a true account, Admiral Spiritoff, who commanded on board the Ruſſian ſhip, muſt have been blown up with it. Yet every body knows that brave officer ſaved himſelf, with four-and-twenty others, in his boat, and is ſtill alive, at Peterſbourg, loaded with the favors, he has ſo well deſerved, of his Sovereign. We ſhould naturally infer, likewiſe, from what we are told of Haſſan Pacha, that he threw himſelf, unhurt, into the Sea, as ſoon as he ſaw his ſhip had taken fire. Yet is it inconteſtable that he arrived at Smyrna, with his body full of wounds. The Relation given by the Count de Choiſeul Gouffier is much more conformable to truth and probability, and more agreeable to the account I received from Haſſan Pacha's own mouth. I ſhall here quote what the Count has ſaid concerning this engagement, in chap. 5, page 94, of his *Voyage pittoreſque de la Grece*.

"Admiral Spiritow left the line ſingly "to attack Haſſan's ſhip, which led the "van of the Turks. They fought with "great fury, and, cloſing with each other,

"faſtened

" faſtened themſelves together with their " grappling irons. The Ruſſians then " threw ſome combuſtibles on board the " Enemy, which took effect, but too ſud- " denly, for, before they could diſengage " themſelves, they both blew up together. " Only four-and-twenty Ruſſians were " ſaved, among which were the Admiral, " his Son, and Count Theodore Orlow. " This ſuperb firſt rate carried ninety braſs " cannon, and had on board a cheſt, con- " taining five hundred thouſand rubles."

I believe the Count de Choiſeul will be far from diſpleaſed if I add, to what he has written, ſeveral particulars, which were communicated to me by Haſſan Pacha himſelf, immediately after the engagement.—

The news of the total deſtruction of the Ottoman Feet was known at Smyrna, by four in the morning, on Sunday, the eighth of July, 1770. That calamitous event was before but too much feared, becauſe repeated advices from Tcheſmai, the ſcene of this terrible deſtruction, had given reaſon to expect ſome dreadful diſaſter; beſides, the exploſion of the ſhips, as they blew up,

up, and the report of the great guns, as the fire reached them, had been very plainly heard, and the column of ſmoke, which aroſe from each veſſel as her powder took fire, very diſtinctly ſeen riſing in the air, on the other ſide of the diſtrict of Karaboomoo. But no ſooner was this event certainly known than the Mahometan inhabitants of that City, ſo incredulous before, were ſeized with Conſternation and Deſpair. The Populace, rendered furious by this reverſe of Fortune, and, inflamed by the ſeditious diſcourſe of Ibrahim Aga, Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms at Smyrna, a man wicked, cruel, and fanatic in the extreme, determined to give a looſe to their rage, and revenge themſelves on the Chriſtians, principally the Greeks. Ibrahim Aga ſet them the example; and the ſame day, at five in the morning, began, by cauſing all the Greeks, who had any kind of employment in the Cuſtom-houſe, to be murdered within the walls of that Building; though, as an Edifice belonging to the Emperor, it ought to have commanded his reſpect; and his duty required he ſhould protect

protect all who might take refuge there as an Aſylum. Immediately a general maſſacre commenced in all the markets, ſquares, and ſtreets of the City, and in leſs than four hours, about fifteen hundred Greeks were murdered; two Europeans, the Sieur Gargani, a Florentine Merchant, and the Sieur Gallo, the Dutch Interpreter, fell victims to the fury of the enraged populace. They certainly would not have ſpared the Francs of any nation, had it been a working day, and buſineſs had brought them into the ſtreets and markets. This Butchery laſted from five in the morning till nine in the evening, when the Officers of the Janiſſaries, with ſome choſen men of their body, ſtationing themſelves in different detachments in every quarter of the City, at length put a ſtop to theſe diſorders. The ſlaughter ceaſed, but the tumult was not entirely appeaſed. The Government, terrified, dared no longer exert its power, or repreſs the inſolence of the rioters. All the Europeans took refuge on board the ſhips of their reſpective nations; the Conſuls, alone, remaining in the

the City, to protect, as much as in their power, the perſons and property of their Countrymen. Theſe Commotions continued more than a month, of which every day was rendered remarkable by the dread of ſome new outrage.

It was in this critical moment Haſſan Pacha, then called Haſſan Bey, having eſcaped from ſo many dangers, was brought wounded to Smyrna, to ſeek the aſſiſtance of which he ſtood ſo much in need. He was very ill received, becauſe it was imagined he had been the occaſion of the Deſtruction of the Fleet; for it was not then know that Jaffer Bey, ſeized with terror at what had happened to the two Admirals, had fled for ſafety to the road of Tcheſmai, and induced the reſt of the Ships to follow his pernicious example.

As ſoon as I was informed of the arrival of Haſſan Bey at Smyrna, I paid him a viſit at the cuſtom-houſe, where he had taken up his reſidence. I was accompanied by M. Fonton, Interpreter's Secretary to the French King, and firſt Dragoman to the Conſulſhip; M. D'Amirat, third Dragoman,

goman, as alſo by Meſſieurs Perretié and Marragon, French Merchants, who were deſirous to go with me. We found him, ſeated on a Sopha, with his face very much burnt by Gunpowder, leaning his head on a pillow, his arms and legs ſupported by four pillows, and obliged, by his wounds, to remain in an exceſſively uneaſy poſture. After many civilities on both ſides, I made him an offer of the Attendance of M. Michel, Phyſician to the French hoſpital at Smyrna, which he accepted with great pleaſure. Our diſcourſe on the wounds he had received naturally led to a relation of the engagement, when he gave me the account I am now going to repeat.

The Captain Pacha, after having made thoſe diſpoſitions as ill imagined on his part as they are well deſcribed in the Memoirs, after having anchored his fifteen Ships of the line, and his Frigates between the main land of Aſia and the Spalmadore iſlands, waited, in his galley, for the appearance of the Ruſſian Fleet, according to the cuſtom of the Ottoman Admirals, who, during a battle, are always on board ſome veſſel

veſſel with oars, that they may be more eaſily conveyed to give their orders, wherever their preſence may be neceſſary. As ſoon as the frigates made the ſignal for ſeeing the enemies fleet, Haſſan Bey, Captain of the flag ſhip of the Captain Pacha, ſent to him, ſeveral times, for permiſſion to get under ſail, but could not obtain leave. Admiral Spiritow attacked the Turkiſh Admiral's Ship the moment he found himſelf ſufficiently near, and the engagement was long and obſtinate. Haſſan Bey, at anchor, and unable to ſtir, received, for four hours, the fire of the Ruſſian Ship, which, immediately after having diſcharged one broadſide, paſſed him, and tacked about to pour in the other, no part of which he could avoid, as it was not in his power to move; he anſwered it therefore as well as he could, till a fortunate accident ſeemed to incline the ſcale in his favor.

The Turkiſh Ships of the line have all, in their upper tire, four or ſix guns of an enormous calibre, which carry ſtone balls of ſeveral hundred weight. One of theſe balls

balls carried away the rudder of the Ruſſian Ship, which, being no longer under command of the Pilot, drove down upon the Turk. Haſſan Bey, fearing the Ruſſian ſhould be carried ſo far as to fruſtrate the project he had formed of boarding him, made the only motion in his power, without diſobeying the command of the Pacha to remain at anchor, and ſwung himſelf on his cable, keeping always in a line with his enemy, in order to receive him, if poſſible, on his broadſide. This Manœuvre ſucceeded; the two Ships preſently met, and were faſtened together by their grappling irons. Haſſan Bey attempted to board, and received ſeveral wounds, notwithſtanding which, he was on the point of making himſelf maſter of his enemy's Ship, when the Ruſſians, ſeeing no other means of eſcaping, after the loſs of their rudder, even though they ſhould be able to throw off the grappling irons, adopted the dangerous expedient of throwing an artificial firework into the Turkiſh Ship, which immediately ſet it in flames. Haſſan Bey was therefore obliged to give over all at-

tempts to board, in order to extinguiſh the fire; but the flames, catching the Ruſſian Ship at the ſame time, they both burnt together with great fury. Admiral Spiritow ſeeing it impoſſible to preſerve his Ship, ſaved himſelf and twenty-four other perſons in his boat. Haſſan Bey, alſo, made ſome fruitleſs efforts to prevent the deſtruction of his ſhip; but, deſerted by his crew, who had thrown themſelves into the Sea, he was obliged to follow their example, and was fortunate enough to eſcape from the dreadful exploſion of the two ſhips, which blew up a moment after, at a ſmall diſtance from each other; he had alſo ſufficient reſolution and ſtrength, notwithſtanding his wounds, and the fatigues he had undergone, to reach the land, by the aid of a broken plank, and the aſſiſtance of a faithful friend, whoſe generous behaviour ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence.

Achmed Aga, a rich Merchant of the Morea, who had long maintained the moſt intimate friendſhip with Haſſan Bey, having learned the latter was appointed Captain

tain of the flag ſhip, to the Captain Pacha, and was to command the Admiral ſhip, left his own country, to repair to his friend at Conſtantinople, and accompany him, in quality of volunteer. He accordingly embarked in the ſame ſhip, with Haſſan Bey, fought by his ſide with the utmoſt bravery, gave him every aſſiſtance in his power, nor forſook the ſhip till he prepared to do the ſame; and when Haſſan was obliged to ſave himſelf by ſwimming, threw himſelf firſt into the ſea, aſſiſted him to ſeize a part of the wreck, and brought him to ſhore, ſometimes ſupporting him, and ſometimes, as it were, towing him along. He, at length, though not without great difficulty, conducted him ſafe to Smyrna. Such an inſtance, of friendſhip and fidelity, does honor at once to the Ottoman nation and to humanity, and well deſerved a place in the Memoirs.

The day after my viſit to Haſſan Bey, Achmed Aga came to ſee me, and confirmed all theſe circumſtances, which I had before heard from the Vice Admiral himſelf.

M. Michel, the French phyſician at Smyrna, attended Haſſan Bey, for a month or five weeks, and effected a perfect cure of his wounds; I alſo obtained permiſſion, from our reſident at that place, to defray the expence, at the charge of the King of France; and, in conſequence, gave an order to M. Marin, then firſt Deputy for the French nation, at Smyrna, who reimburſed M. Michel, and placed the money to the account of the public expences, at that Port. The accounts of theſe expences, may be examined at the *Bureau de Marine* and will prove the truth of what I have here related, ſhould it be doubted.

Haſſan Bey left Smyrna, ſoon after he was cured, but remained in a kind of obſcurity and diſgrace, becauſe Jaffer Bey, having found means to conceal from the Miniſtry, by ſpecious pretences, his own deſpicable conduct, and depreciate the gallant behavior of his Colleague, had been advanced to the dignity of Captain Pacha; but the Truth ſoon became manifeſt. The conduct of Haſſan Bey was juſtified and applauded, Jaffer Bey exiled to Rhodes, and

and Haſſan promoted to his place, in which his faithful ſervices have continued to merit the entire confidence of Sultan Muſtapha and Sultan Abdulhamid, his ſucceſſor.

(U. p. 78. Part III.) The Author, who has not rendered ſufficient juſtice to the brave Haſſan, in his relation of the above action, ſhould not have refuſed him that glory at Lemnos, which, perhaps, the Annals of Hiſtory cannot exceed, and which equals the moſt renowned exploits of Greece or Rome.

It was fortunate for the Ottoman Empire that Haſſan Pacha attacked the Ruſſians with more ſucceſs than Baron de Tott had combated, in the preſence of the Miniſters, his plan for the expedition. That gallant commander ſhewed himſelf much better acquainted with the bravery of thoſe he had choſen, to accompany him in this enterpriſe, than he had appeared to be with the mechanic powers at the Dardanelles. The ſucceſs of this bold undertaking was certainly not very probable, and the means propoſed apparently inſufficient; but this only ſerves to render his victory ſtill more illuſtrious.

It was, indeed, more extraordinary than the Memoirs repreſent, ſince Haſſan Pacha had with him only fifteen hundred men, inſtead of four thouſand, as is there ſaid.

Having embarked this inconſiderable force in ſome very ſmall boats, without either artillery or proviſions, he left the Dardanelles, and taking advantage of the darkneſs of the night, landed the next day in an uninhabited creek of the Iſland of Lemnos. As ſoon as his little detachment had got on ſhore, he ſpurned the boat adrift, in which he came, commanding all who were with him to do the like: the boats being thus driven out to ſea, he made this ſhort harangue to his followers. "Comrades, our "flight is now rendered impoſſible; we "muſt conquer or die; we are faſting, and "have no proviſions; but we ſhall procure "plenty from our enemies when we have "vanquiſhed them, till when we muſt "not expect to eat. Follow me; I lead "you to victory." He immediately ſets out by forced marches, drives the Ruſſians from the city of Lemnos and Port St. Anthony; forces them to take refuge on board

board their ſhips with the moſt ſhameful precipitation, raiſes the ſiege of the Fort, which had been carried on, without effect, during four months, diſlodges the enemy from a poſt highly advantageous and proper for favoring all their operations, makes himſelf maſter of their Artillery and Baggage, beholds them ſet ſail, and then returns in triumph to the Dardanelles. Haſſan Pacha was fortunate, no doubt; but might good fortune alone perform all this? What a mind muſt that General poſſeſs, who only could conceive ſuch a project! What fortitude to undertake, and what prudence to conduct it ſo ſucceſsfully! What honor is not due to his courageous Aſſociates! And what can we think of the Viſir, who could call thoſe brave men *raſcals*, and wiſh they might no longer burthen their country! The three hundred Greeks who died at Thermopylæ might be ſtiled raſcals with equal juſtice.

I cannot conclude this paragraph without mentioning the valor and firmneſs of Diſdar, the Governor of the little Fortreſs of Lemnos, who, with a garriſon of ſix

hundred men, very few proviſions, and ſtill leſs ammunition, reſiſted, during four months, all the ſea and land forces the Ruſſians had brought into the Archipelago. I ſaw him at Smyrna a ſhort time after the Siege was raiſed; he related to me all the circumſtances of it with the Modeſty, Simplicity, and Magnanimity conſtantly attendant on true Heroiſm. A nation which produces ſuch men cannot be totally deſpicable. I ſhall here ſubjoin a Character of Haſſan Pacha, which, I believe, will be allowed, by thoſe who know him, to reſemble the original much more than that given in the Memoirs.

This Admiral is about ſeventy years of age, of a middling ſtature, and ſtoutly made. He has received from nature an extremely ſtrong conſtitution, which he has rendered ſtill ſtronger by the fatigues of war, and his hardy manner of living. His complexion is dark, and embrowned by the ſun and air; his countenance, though not handſome, is ſufficiently regular, and commands reſpect by a beard and white muſtachios. There is, in his look and manner,

ner, an air of courage and firmneſs which diſplays the elevation of his mind, and which might at firſt be miſtaken for ferocity. He is ſober from natural inclination, auſtère from principle, religious from conviction, ſevere from love of order, firm and implacable from diſpoſition, and, unfortunately, ſometimes cruel and ſanguinary from neceſſity. He was born with thoſe ſeeds of Genius which would have rendered him a truly aſtoniſhing man, if the neglect of all ſtudy, till too advanced an age, and the want of even the firſt principles of ſcience had not prevented their coming to perfection. His valor, his intrepidity, his activity, his love of his country, which exalt him to an equality with the greateſt heroes recorded in any hiſtory, either ancient or modern, would have been much more brilliant and uſeful to the State, if they had been guided by more extenſive Knowledge. He has, however, rendered the Empire the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſervices both in the cabinet and the field. We have already ſeen what he performed by ſea. By land, continually victorious, he

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ſaw an enemy infinitely ſuperior in numbers fly before him at Lemnos, without once putting it in their power to retaliate. He re-eſtabliſhed the Ottoman Marine, which had been entirely deſtroyed at Tcheſmai. He introduced great improvements into the building and rigging of ſhips, lowered their decks, rendered their ſterns leſs lofty, and more elegant and commodious; raiſed their maſts, and provided them with better tackling, and a more regular artillery. He chaſtiſed the moſt formidable rebels in the Empire, delivered the Morea from the Invaſion of the Albanians, who, under the pretence of defending that fine province from a ſecond attack of the Ruſſians, had committed the greateſt devaſtations. He preſerved the Greeks, when it was deliberated in the Council to exterminate them entirely, as a puniſhment for their defection, and to prevent their future rebellion: he obtained for them a general amneſty, which he took care ſhould be faithfully obſerved; and this, added to the ill-treatment with which the Ruſſians rewarded the Greeks for all

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the favors they received from them, has brought back a great number of emigrants, and prevented the total deſertion of that numerous claſs of ſubjects, which an unſeaſonable rigor would have occaſioned, and which muſt have depopulated the provinces, rendered a great part of the country uncultivated, and deprived the fleet of a nurſery of ſailors. He has conſtantly maintained the government, good order, and tranquillity of the Capital, and prevented, or quelled, every inſurrection. Nature, aſſiſted by Study and Art, would have made Haſſan Pacha a prodigious, Nature alone has only made him a great, man.

While I reprehend the Author of the Memoirs for the unjuſt and diſadvantageous colours in which he has painted Haſſan Pacha, I cannot ſufficiently extol the portraits he has drawn of the three Miniſters * who governed the Empire, at the time when Baron de Tott commenced his operations. Nothing can be more exact. I was acquainted with all the three. I ſaw the

* Part III. page 30.

Pachas,

Pachas, Melek and Izzet, at Smyrna, after their Viziriat.—The firſt exhibited in his elegant figure the marks of that mildneſs and goodneſs of diſpoſition he ſo eminently poſſeſſed, and nothing more. To the ſame qualities, in the other, were added real abilities, both natural and acquired. Iſmael Bei was in exile and ſick, at Scio, when I touched there, on my return to France, in the month of Auguſt, 1778. As ſoon as he was informed of my arrival at the Iſland, he ſent one of the principal officers of his houſehold, to requeſt me to come and ſee him. This invitation was conveyed in terms highly expreſſive of that avidity with which all exiled Miniſters enquire after news, and ſeek an opportunity of diſcourſing on the great affairs in which they have been engaged. I found him in that kind of lethargy that opium, which he took immoderately, produces. I perceived he was of the claſs of perſons called *Theriakis*, who are deſcribed in the Memoirs in ſo juſt and lively a manner. I deſpaired of being able to enter into any reaſonable diſcourſe with him, when, having

ing a little diſperſed the fumes of the opium, he made me the cuſtomary compliments, and addreſſed me in the moſt civil and obliging terms. The converſation became inſenſibly more animated; he ſometimes ſunk into his firſt ſtupidity, but requeſted me to continue my diſcourſe; loſt not a word of what I ſaid, and, again collecting himſelf, anſwered me with a preciſion and propriety extremely ſurpriſing. About eleven o'clock dinner was ſerved, during which he was particularly lively and agreeable. He eat but little, and ſeveral remarks eſcaped him, of the ſame nature with the circumſtance of the two canary birds, mentioned in the Memoirs. Indeed, the Theriakis are remarkable for their temperance in other reſpects, and addicted to a thouſand little childiſh fancies. A flower, a fruit, a bird, or a toy, are amuſements as highly valued by them as we can poſſibly prize what we eſteem our moſt delicious pleaſures. At noon, Iſmael Bei waſhed and repeated his prayers, after which we again reſumed our Converſation. It principally turned on what had paſſed during

during the war, and ſince the peace. Through the whole of this conference that Miniſter diſcovered an agreeable and lively diſpoſition, a ſound judgment, enlarged views, great elegance of language, and a very extenſive knowledge of the intereſts of the principal powers of Europe. About four o'clock water was brought him for the neceſſary ablutions before the prayer called *Ikindi*; I then took my leave, and he aſſured me nothing could give him a greater pleaſure than to ſee me again, if accident ſhould ever bring us together.

Iſmael Bei was reſtored to favor; a ſhort time after Sultan Abdulhamid honoured him with three tails, and appointed him Pacha of Cairo, whence he has been removed to other leſs turbulent Governments.

The Character of the Emperor Sultan Muſtapha, whoſe confidence was firſt enjoyed by Baron de Tott, deſerves to be deſcribed, ſince the Memoirs only afford a few ſcattered features, which muſt be collected, in order to form a whole. That Prince poſſeſſed a ſound judgment, an upright

right heart, and an auſterity of manners. His underſtanding did not ſurpaſs mediocrity. He ſpoke with eaſe and preciſion, and wrote a finer hand than is uſual for a Sovereign. His health, greatly injured by the poiſon of Sultan Oſman, to which he ſaw his eldeſt brother, Sultan Mehemed, fall a victim, did not permit him to indulge himſelf much in pleaſure, to which he was naturally little inclined. Entirely devoted to buſineſs, and perpetually buried among his papers, he laboured without remiſſion; and when his favourites repreſented to him that ſuch continued attention was injurious to his health, he anſwered, My application is neceſſary, ſince none of you underſtand how to conduct Buſineſs. He has given many eminent examples of his juſtice, and, if in ſome inſtances he has been charged with cruelty, it has ariſen leſs from his natural diſpoſition, than religious and national prejudices. He has been unjuſtly accuſed of avarice, ſince he has exhauſted his treaſures in endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh a declining Empire. It would be equally unjuſt to aſcribe to him great talents, or

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to deny him zeal and good intentions; and it is not to be doubted but, had his reign been leſs diſturbed, and more fortunate, his ſincere deſire of reforming abuſes would have had the moſt beneficial effects: for, when a Sovereign is determinedly intent on doing good, his miniſters are always competent to the execution of his will.

(Y. page 114. Part III.) The Turks have no iron cannon, and either know not how, or diſdain to make it. All their Artillery is of braſs, nor have they any other on board their ſhips; for though we find pieces of iron ordnance in ſome of their fortified places, or on board their merchant ſhips, theſe have all been taken in war, or purchaſed from the Swedes, Danes, or other Europeans. It is, indeed, very ſurpriſing that their founderies ſhould have no furnaces proper for melting iron, ſince that at Tophana ſends every day to Conſtantinople a prodigious number of braſs pieces, ſome of them of an enormous calibre, excellent, beautiful, and long ſince brought

brought to perfection, according to the proportions and models of the European artillery. They are continually to be ſeen, ranged along the ſhore at Tophana, frequently in double and triple rows; nor can we, without great injuſtice, accuſe the Turks of total ignorance in the art of caſting artillery. It is in fact difficult to conceive how they can produce one ſo beautiful without furnaces proper for caſting the ſmall field-pieces, of which they are in want, and which Baron de Tott undertook to fabricate. This is a problem, the ſolution of which I ſhall leave to thoſe who are more converſant in matters of this nature.

(Z. page 118. Part III.) This paſſage would lead us to imagine the Turks have neither architects nor workmen. To confute ſuch an opinion, we may appeal to the auguſt Manes of the Emperors Selim, Soliman, Bajazet, Achmed, and Mahmoud, who have left behind them ſuch ſuperb Moſques, Khans, Beſeſtins, and many other monuments of their grandeur and magnificence. Thoſe illuſtrious Monarchs did

not certainly ſend for any European Artiſts to erect theſe majeſtic edifices; they were all built by architects and workmen who were natives. They are the Admiration of foreign Connoiſſeurs; and the Author of the Memoirs himſelf, in his firſt Volume, has not denied them ſome praiſe. Sultan Selim employed an Armenian Architect in building his two ſuperb Moſques, one of which is at Conſtantinople, and the other at Andrinople: and, after they were finiſhed, aſked him which was the moſt beautiful. I have expended moſt money, replied the Artiſt, in that of Andrinople, but moſt ſcience in that of the Metropolis. Another Armenian, named Echek Simeon, who is, perhaps, ſtill living, or has certainly not been long dead, without being able either to write or read, or even to draw, has, in our time, executed, in a truly maſterly manner, the magnificent Moſque of Sultan Mahmoud, of which I have already ſpoken, and which Sultan Oſman cauſed to be finiſhed, in order to give it his own name. The ſtupidity and ignorance of this Armenian in every thing but Architecture

Architecture was ſo great, that it procured him the name of *Echek Simeon*, or Simeon the Aſs.

I think I have now ſaid enough to juſtify the Turks from this accuſation brought againſt them by the Author, who ſeems willing to inſinuate they have neither architects, maſons, nor ſmiths; for, ſince all theſe different workmen muſt concur to the completion of a grand Edifice, the Founders of the ſuperb Buildings, I have mentioned, muſt have obtained, and might ſtill obtain, all the Artiſts neceſſary to ſuch undertakings at home, becauſe they have not been obliged to procure them elſewhere.

(A. page 134. Part III.) The enrolled Janiſſaries are, in fact, ſo numerous that the number, if it could be aſcertained, would amount to ſeveral millions. Both Baron de Tott and myſelf have contributed to augment it; I having, like him, been admitted into this Corps at Precop, in 1758. They are, however, only eſtimated at forty thouſand; on which account they are called *Kirk Bin Koul*, or the forty thou-

ſand ſlaves; and, though there may be four hundred thouſand on the pay-liſt, it is certain, the treaſury does not iſſue pay for more than forty thouſand, that being only received by the Janiſſaries of the *Odas*, or Barracks, at Conſtantinople, and thoſe who in the Garriſons have followed their *Kettle*. All thoſe who are not with the ſtandard are called *Yamaks*, and receive no emolument.

All other Corps, which compoſe the military force of the Turks, are in like manner very numerous: the reaſon of which is that the People are divided into two Claſſes, the *Aſkeris*, or military, and the *Beledis*, or peaſants. Every Mahometan, who does not belong to ſome military corps, is obliged by the Law to pay, like the *Rayas*, a capitation tax, and is aſſeſſed for his ſhare of the impoſts levied on the cities, towns, and villages, and which are called *Tekialif urfia*; and though this Law be not rigorouſly put in execution, it nevertheleſs cauſes many to enter their names on the liſts.

(B.

(B. page 136. Part III.) The ſixteen millions and a half, appropriated by Sultan Soliman to theſe purpoſes, are the grants of the Fiefs called *Timars* and *Ziamets*, and which ſo far anſwer the expectation of the founder, with reſpect to the Cavalry, that this feudal Cavalry is often ſo numerous as to become more prejudicial than uſeful, and occaſion confuſion and ſcarcity in the Army, as the Author himſelf has remarked in another paſſage of the Memoirs.

Baron de Tott, both as a military man, and a man of extenſive knowledge and long experience in the manners of the people he deſcribes, was certainly better qualified than any other perſon to give us a perfectly ſatisfactory account of the Turkiſh military; it is therefore with the utmoſt regret, we perceive he has thrown but little light on a ſubject he was ſo well able to illuſtrate. He has ſpoken frequently of the Corps of the Janiſſaries, without ſaying of how many companies it conſiſts, and without making mention of its diviſion into *Ortas*, *Buluks*, and *Seymens*, forming

in all one hundred and ninety-ſix Companies, that is to ſay, one hundred and one Ortas, ſixty-one Buluks, and thirty-four Seymens. He ſays nothing of the Subdiviſion of theſe Companies into *Tournadjis*, Guards of the Cranes; *Zagardjis*, Guards of the Hounds; *Samſoundjis*, Guards of the Maſtiffs, and ſeveral other privileged companies, ſtill a part, however, of the one hundred and ninety-ſix which form the Corps, and the Chiefs of which arrive, like thoſe of the others, at the higheſt Stations. He makes no mention of the *Yerlis*, or provincial militia of the Janiſſaries, commanded by a *Serdar*, in the cities which are not conſidered as places of ſtrength, and where there is no Janiſſary Aga; of the *Yamaks*, or garriſoned Invalids; of the *Otouraks*, or Invalids exempted from ſervice; of the diviſion of them which takes place both in garriſon and in the field into *Sag Kol* and *Sol Kol*, or right wing and left wing, each of which have their ſeparate ſtandards, and their reſpective Agas, one of whom is ſtiled *Sag Kol Agaſſi*, and the other *Sol Kol Agaſſi*; of the *Bairaks*

Serden-

Serdenghetchedis, or Companies of Volunteers, which the Officers of that body raiſe, in time of war, take to the army, and maintain at their own expence. He has given a particular account of the ſubalterns of the Companies, but has ſaid nothing of the higher officers, conſiſting of the *Janiſſary Aga*, the *Seymen Bachi*, the *Koul Kiaiaſſi*, the *Jenitcheri Effendi*, the *Mubzur Aga*, the *Bache Tchaouche*, and the *Orta Tchaouche*; he has ſaid very little of the *Toptchis*, or Gunners, and not even mentioned the *Coombaradjis*, or Bombardiers, nor the School eſtabliſhed for the latter by the late Comte de Bonneval, Ahmed Pacha. He paſſes over in ſilence the *Azaps*, or Pioneers, the *Lagamdjis*, or Miners, and ſeveral other military corps, who are each diſtinct in their eſtabliſhment and regulation. He takes not the ſlighteſt notice of the Canons of Sultan Solimah, which regulate the government and diſcipline of every military corps in the Empire.

(C. page 140. Part III.) The word *Irz*, in Turkiſh, has the ſame ſignification as

Honor, in French; and this is ſo true that, when a Turk has been obliged to ſubmit to ſome inconvenience rather than forfeit his honor, he conſoles himſelf by ſaying *Irz belaſſi*, it is a misfortune which honor entails. To exaggerate our accuſations in this manner is almoſt to juſtify the accuſed.

(D. page 188. Part III.) The happy ſucceſs which has ſince crowned this Emperor's endeavors to perpetuate his auguſt Family, at the ſame time that it has delivered the Turks from the fear of a failure in the Ottoman line, has demonſtrated the perfect recovery of a Monarch who is dear to them, and done honor to the phyſicians, of each ſex, who had undertaken his cure.

(E. page 188. Part III.) This ſame Caimakan, who is here ſpoken of by the name of Haſſan Pacha, and the ſurname Kooyoodgi, is, as often as he is mentioned afterwards, conſtantly called Muſtapha Pacha. This, no doubt, is a miſtake of the Printer,

ter, but that is no apology for the Error of the Author. This Pacha was neither named Muſtapha, nor Haſſan; his name was Seuleiman Pacha Kooyoodgi. I obſerve, alſo, that the Author, at page 199, has given the name of *Umer* to the High Treaſurer, whom the ſame Kooyoodgi Seuleiman Pacha raiſed by open force to the dignity of Pacha with three tails, which he was ſo unwilling to accept. This High Treaſurer was named Oſman Effendi, his Surname was Jenichehirlu, becauſe the town of Jenichehir was the place of his birth. He has ſince been known under the name of Oſman Pacha.

(F. page 198. Part III.) It is univerſally known that the Surra Emini is never the Conductor of the Pilgrims to Mecca. This Office has always belonged to the Pacha of Damaſcus alone, who, on that account, receives the title of *Emir Hadje*, or Commander of the Pilgrims. Two Caravans ſet out every year for Mecca, one from Damaſcus, and the other from Cairo. The

firſt

firſt is conducted by the Pacha of Damaſcus, and the other by one of the four-and-twenty Beys who govern Egypt. The firſt is met at Damaſcus by all the Pilgrims from the northern, eaſtern, and weſtern parts of the Ottoman Empire. The ſecond, which ſets out later, is formed at Cairo, of the Stragglers, the Pilgrims of Egypt, the Barbary States, the Empire of Morocco, and thoſe who arrive from Tartary; as it is more commodious and leſs expenſive for the latter to go by ſea, from the Crimea, and the other provinces of Little Tartary, to Conſtantinople, and thence again by Sea, and down the Nile, to Cairo, than to make a long journey by land to Damaſcus. The firſt Caravan waits for the other at a certain diſtance from Mecca, where they join and enter the City together, under the command of the Emir Hadje.

The Office of *Surra Emini*, or Intendant of the Alms, is to bear to Mecca the money ariſing from the legacies bequeathed by Individuals, and alſo the two coverings which the Emperor ſends, one to Mecca,

Mecca, and the other to Medina, together with the other royal offerings to thoſe holy places. The firſt covering is deſigned for the *Beith Oullah*, or houſe of God at Mecca, which is the grand object of the pilgrimage, and is commonly called the *Kiaba*, or Cube, becauſe its form is a perfect cube. This covering is a black woollen ſtuff without any ornament. The Surra Emini, who carries the new one, brings back the old, and preſents it to the Emperor, who diſtributes the pieces of it to the Grandees and his Favorites. Theſe pieces are held in the higheſt veneration, and thoſe who obtain them give orders that, at their burial, their heads ſhall be covered with them in the coffin; and care is taken to let theſe precious fragments appear on the outſide, over the rich ſtuff which covers the bier, in the Funerals of the Great. The ſecond covering is of ſilk and gold, and is not carried by the Surra-Emini to Mecca, as is ſaid in the Memoirs, but to Medina, where the Tomb is, which it is deſigned to envelop.

It is difficult to reconcile the concluſion of this volume and the reproaches with which the Author has loaded the Ottoman Nation through the whole courſe of his Work. The Relations, contained in this third part of the Memoirs, of all the Labors of the Baron; the ſucceſs of his operations, in conſtructing Batteries at the Dardanelles, and Fortreſſes at the mouth of the Strait of the Black Sea; in caſting Artillery, conſtructing Bridges, and forming a new military Corps to ſerve the field pieces, and mortars; in exerciſing the Infantry, and inſtructing them in the management of the bayonet; in eſtabliſhing an uniform, changing the military puniſhments, and founding a School for the Mathematics and the Science of Fortification: all theſe particulars, I ſay, prove that Baron de Tott found, in the Monarch, a real deſire to correct prejudicial abuſes, and not to ſpare his treaſures when they could be uſeful in founding beneficial Eſtabliſhments; in the Miniſters, a deſire, either feigned or real, of ſeconding the will of their Sovereign, and in the Profeſſors

of

of the Law a ſurpriſing liberality, and greater readineſs than could have been expected, to make their religion give way to the exigencies of the State, ſince the Mufti, and the Body of the Ulemas permitted the Muſſulmen to put up prayers for the ſucceſs of the undertakings of a Chriſtian, and the Head of the Law himſelf beſtowed his benediction on the bayonet, to authorize its uſe. Is it not plain, alſo, that he found in the people a flexibility and underſtanding, which ought to make him acknowledge they are equally ſuſceptible of the moſt exact diſcipline, and every kind of improvement? And does not the affecting Deſcription he has given at the end of this Volume, of the Parting between himſelf and his pupils, when he ſet ſail for France, ſufficiently prove the gratitude of the Nation towards thoſe who have endeavoured their Inſtruction?

After this recapitulation of the ſplendid labors of Baron de Tott, if I hint at all at my own, it will only be in Juſtification of the Turkiſh nation; and, becauſe, under ſimilar circumſtances, I have experienced, from

from that People, the ſame ſentiments and diſpoſitions. After the battle at Tcheſmai, the Porte, fearing, not without reaſon, the Ruſſians would make an attempt on Smyrna, on account of its important ſituation for Commerce, or that, ſhould they deſpair to keep poſſeſſion of it, they might at leaſt plunder, or lay it under an enormous contribution, I was charged by the Count de St. Prieſt, at the requeſt of the Ottoman Miniſtry, with a Commiſſion of the ſame nature with the Baron's, and was furniſhed with an Order from the Grand Seignior, requiring the Officers of Government, at Smyrna, to follow my advice, and lend every aſſiſtance, in their power, to execute my plans for ſecuring the City from an attack.

With the Aſſiſtance of an Italian Officer, Count Morelli, and the Sieur David, French Builder at that Port, I carried on, at Smyrna, works, in miniature, for its defence, nearly of the ſame nature with thoſe which Baron de Tott executed on a larger ſcale at the Dardanelles and Conſtantinople, for the defence of the Empire. I found

found all the great Officers extremely ready to aſſiſt me in my operations; and, without teſtifying the leaſt diſpleaſure at an order far from flattering to themſelves, or their abilities, they furniſhed me with all the workmen and materials neceſſary for my undertaking, and attended, in perſon, with the utmoſt willingneſs, wherever their preſence could be of ſervice. When the object of my Commiſſion was finiſhed, all who had any authority in the City aſſembled at the houſe of the Mollah, and drew up and tranſmitted to the Porte an *Ilam*, or verbal Proceſs, in which, giving an account of all that had been done, they ſpoke in the moſt flattering terms of the zeal I had ſhewn on this occaſion, and the ſervices I had performed. The Mollah, when he ſent to thank me, in the name of the City, remitted me alſo a Copy of this Inſtrument, which I ſent to the Count de St. Prieſt, to prove I had executed his orders, and thoſe of the Porte, to the general Satisfaction.

We

We are now arrived at the fourth and laſt Part of theſe Memoirs, which contains a relation of a Tour through the ſea-ports of the Levant, performed by Baron de Tott, on board the Frigate Atlanta, in quality of Inſpector of Commerce. It were to be wiſhed that, without too much laying open the myſteries of his Inſpection, he had, in his laſt Volume, thrown ſome new light on this important part of his miſſion; but, unfortunately, the Inſpector of Commerce is almoſt always concealed behind the Traveller; and the more the ingenious obſervations, and judicious conjectures of the Traveller, on geography, topography, natural hiſtory, antiquities, and the hiſtory of the various countries he has viſited, are intereſting and ſatisfactory to the Learned and the Curious, the more is the ſilence of the Inſpector to be lamented by the Politician and the Merchant.

(G. page 8. Part IV.) Corn is not ſcarce in Candia; the plains of Meſſara, and ſeveral other parts of the Iſland, furniſh it

it in great Abundance, and the annual harveſts are quite ſufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants; but, as the Corn of Meſſara is incomparably fine, the Agas export a great quantity; European, Turkiſh, and Greek Veſſels are perpetually engaged in this illicit commerce at Yerapetra and Mirabelle, from whence they ſend the Corn to France, Italy, Conſtantinople, Alexandria, Bengaza, Derna, Tripoli, and even Tunis, on which account Candia is frequently obliged to depend on the Morea for ſubſiſtence. Oil and ſoap compoſe indeed the two principal branches of commerce in this Kingdom, but it likewiſe produces an infinity of articles of importance, as very fine ſilk, wax, honey, ſufficient cotton for the conſumption of the country, and cheeſes, which a contraband trade exports to Egypt, the coaſt of Barbary, Italy, and Provence. It alſo produces black raiſins and *harroubs*, for which Egypt furniſhes the principal market.

(H. page 81. Part IV.) Sheik Taher was not ſubdued by Muhammed Bei. The

famous Haſſan Pacha, at preſent Admiral of Turkey, was ſent, a ſhort time after the Peace of Kainardjik, with a part of the Ottoman fleet, to attack and puniſh this Rebel, and brought to Conſtantinople both his head and his treaſures.

(I. page 96. Part IV.) This menace was unhappily never realiſed. Baron de Tott was in Syria, in 1776. Nine years are now elapſed ſince that time, and Dgezzar Pacha ſtill lives and ſtill holds the ſame Government, to the great regret of the unfortunate inhabitants of Syria, over whom he exerciſes the moſt cruel Tyranny.

(K. page 104. Part IV.) The Author, when mentioning the prerogatives enjoyed by the French nation at Seide, ſhould not, I think, have omitted an intereſting circumſtance, which is, that the French Conſul at this ſea-port, who is Conſul General of Syria, formerly poſſeſſed the privilege of being *Emir Hadje* of the Chriſtians, or Commander of the Pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. All the Pilgrims of the three rituals, Greek,

Greek, Armenian, and Latin, as well ſubjects of the Grand Seignior as foreigners, met and formed a Caravan, which was conducted, by the Conſul, to the Holy Land. The pilgrims paid a certain ſum to the Conſul Emir Hadje, who, in conſequence of this dignity, was attended, like the Pachas with three tails, by *Chatirs*, or footmen, who wear a long veſt, or *Dolama*, of ſcarlet, the flaps of which, turned back, diſcover a large edging of yellow ſattin, which they have underneath; above this veſt they wear a girdle of ſilver gilt, to which is faſtened a poniard, the handle and ſheath of which are of the ſame metal, and precede the Pacha in boots of yellow Morocco. A long time after the French Conſuls General had ceaſed to be Conductors of the Chriſtian Caravan, ſeveral of them ſtill kept their Chatirs; but their Succeſſors ſoon grew tired of ſupporting a uſeleſs and burthenſome prerogative, as unprofitable as expenſive.

This privilege has not been refuſed by the Turks, or renounced by the Conſuls; but the pilgrims themſelves have inſenſibly

laid aſide forming a general Caravan, which diminiſhed their liberty, while it augmented their expence. They now prefer going alone, or in ſmall bodies, which, not requiring ſo much preparation and ceremony, expoſes them leſs to the rapacity of the Arabs, and coſts them leſs money.

(L. page 111. Part IV.) The Editor of the Memoirs, who has here engaged Baron de Tott in converſation with a Druſe, in order to procure from him, in haſte, and while ſome writings were making out, an account of that nation, was certainly ignorant the Inſpector had with him, in quality of Dragoman to the Inſpection, M. Venture de Paradis, Interpreter to the King, a truly learned man, who, after having many years ſtudied the Druſes, had obtained ſufficient knowledge of them and their language to draw up a Catechiſm of their Religion, and write an abſtract of their Hiſtory, which either already are, or very ſoon will be, laid before the Public. Baron de Tott would, no doubt, have preferred conſulting him with reſpect to the manners

manners and cuſtoms of the Druſes, as he might have done it much more at his eaſe, and with far more advantage.

(M. page 123. Part IV.) The Author, in his phyſical remarks on the City of Aleppo, has omitted a remarkable thing that deſerves to be mentioned: I mean a diſorder to which all the inhabitants, who are natives, and even ſtrangers who have reſided there ſeveral years, are ſubject. This diſorder is a large pimple, or boil, which breaks out, though but once, on ſome part of the body. It is neither painful nor dangerous, and its eruption is preceded by a fever of four-and-twenty hours continuance. Care ſhould be taken not to irritate it, or drive the collected matter inwards, by injudicious treatment; the beſt method is, to let it ſuppurate, as it purges the body of its humors, and is very conducive to health. This boil, which continues a year, produces no ill effects, except the diſagreeable ſcar it ſometimes leaves, when it happens to break out in

the face, a circumſtance equally impoſſible to be foreſeen or avoided.

(N. page 129. Part IV.) The Author, in the ſecond part, page 47, had already refuſed the Noguais Tartars the title of Nomades; he has here denied it to the Turcomen, whoſe manners and way of life are nearly the ſame. I know not his reaſons, but the Dictionary of the Academy, which is the beſt authority for the different acceptations of words in the French language, explains the term thus, "*Nomad*, "one who has no fixed habitation;" and adds, "the Tartars are Nomades." Indeed, there are no people to whom the appellation of Nomades better agrees than the Noguais Tartars and the Turcomen. They have neither Towns nor Villages, but live continually in Tents; they ſow their corn, and feed their cattle, ſometimes in one diſtrict, and ſometimes in another. The Turcomen, like the Noguais, are divided into different Hordes, governed by their reſpective Chiefs, or Princes, who, like the Noguais, receive the Title of Beys, and

and whoſe Authority is hereditary. Both theſe nations are extremely hoſpitable to Strangers. In my travels, in the year 1765, to Magneſia, Thiatyra, and Sardis, of which I have publiſhed an account, I was received in the moſt friendly manner by the Horde of Djura Bey, which uſually was encamped in the plains of Sardis and Allahcheir, the ancient Philadelphia. Djura Bey had been beheaded, ſome years before, by order of the Porte, for rebellion. At Jaiakeui I met with Ali Bey, his ſon and ſucceſſor, who was then with the celebrated Cara Oſman Oglou, who, having learned I was to paſs by Sardis, teſtified the greateſt regret that it was not in his power to receive me in his camp, and gave me a letter to his mother, whom I viſited the next day with this recommendation. I found an aged woman, of a noble figure, and commanding preſence, who received me with a profuſion of civilities, and entertained me with a dinner and a ſupper, which ſeemed prepared by one of the ancient Patriarchs. In the evening, ſhe ordered a tent to be ſet up for me, in which

I found an excellent bed, and the next day, when I went to take my leave, obliged me to accept three carpets, which ſhe had ſent early in the morning, ready packed up, to my tent. The Turcomen, like the Noguais, are naturally warlike and courageous, and, whatever the Memoirs may pretend, attack and defend themſelves with equal valor. They take up arms very willingly, even without being provoked; for, in the laſt War againſt the Ruſſians, a numerous Bairak of Turcomen, the ſame I have juſt mentioned, left the plains of Sardis, under the command of their Chief, Ali Bey, to join the Ottoman Army beyond the Danube, where they behaved honorably.

(O. page 132. Part IV.) The Curds are a warlike people, addicted to robbery and rapine. They inhabit the mountains of Caramania, and are generally ſuppoſed to be Mahometans, but pay little regard to any religion. They are ſo deſpiſed by the Turks, that they compare them to the Bohemians, and their name is become proverbial. When the Turks ſpeak of two perſons

perſons equally contemptible, they commonly ſay, *Tchingbana tchalar Curd oinar*: i. e. The Bohemian plays the fiddle, and the Curd dances.

(P. page 142. Part IV.) Baron de Tott could not do better than refer his reader, for whatever relates to the Greeks, either ancient or modern, to the immortal work of the Count de Choiſeul; a Work equally valuable for its intereſting matter, the beauty of its ſtyle, the profundity of its erudition, the truth of the deſigns, the perfection of the engravings, and the richneſs and elegance of the vignettes; a Work which is at once an honor to the French nation, and the preſent Age, and affords a uſeful leſſon to the Great, of the manner in which they ſhould employ their riches and their talents.

(Q. page 142. Part IV.) This Fiſhery is carried on by the male and female Inhabitants of the Iſle of Sima, at preſent Simio; which Iſland, ſituated to the North-weſt of Rhodes, near the entrance of the gulph of Macri,

Macri, is inhabited by the moſt expert divers in the World. Among theſe Iſlanders the young men and women are not permitted to marry till they have collected a certain number of Sponges, amounting to many thouſands.

Theſe Divers are able to remain under water above an hour, without taking breath. Anatomiſts affirm they derive this extraordinary power from the care which is taken to keep open, in their infants, the Foramen ovale *; by which the lungs are played in the Fœtus, and which cloſes immediately after the birth. As I am not competent to decide whether this be really the caſe, I ſhall not take upon me to determine. For a further account of the Inhabitants of Sima, the Reader may conſult the Count de Choiſeul Gouffier, in his *Voyage Pittoreſque de la Grece*, Chap. VII.

* *It ſeems ſtrange to us that means can be found to keep the Foramen Ovale open, or that Anatomiſts ſhould have made ſuch an aſſertion.* T.

(R.

(R. page 145. Part IV.) I cannot paſs over this paſſage without vindicating the character of Haſſan Pacha from this unjuſt accuſation of Cruelty.

The Aga here alluded to was Ayvas Aga, Commander of the little diſtrict of Booroonabad, near Smyrna. This man, by uniting together a number of Timars, had rendered himſelf very formidable; he had been guilty of numerous offences, and incurred the anger of the Porte by repeated outrages. He had the boldneſs to advance with his troops to Smyrna, to ſurpriſe and block up in his Palace Cara Oſman Oglou, whom the Emperor had appointed Governor of the City, to re-eſtabliſh good order after the Rebellion in 1770, which I have mentioned before. He had obliged him to capitulate, and committed every kind of extravagance. He had ſeized, by open violence, in the Caſtle of Smyrna, a woman who had taken refuge there from his cruelty, and put her to death a few days after. He had carried his temerity ſo far as to inſult, in the groſſeſt manner, the *Koul Kiayaſſi*, or General

neral Officer of the Janiſſaries, whom the Porte had ſent to Smyrna, to diſcover and puniſh thoſe who had been concerned in the Rebellion. As he was extremely offended at my intimacy with the Koul Kiayaſſi, and my ancient and hereditary friendſhip with Cara Oſman Oglou, which his Situation, my own, and other circumſtances obliged me to maintain, he made an aſſault on my houſe, and ſeveral muſquets were fired. The Chevalier de Porcellet, and M. de Barentin, two Sea-officers, who had done me the honor to dine with me that day, were near being killed at the window, and a bullet, which croſſed the court-yard, narrowly miſſed M. Fonton and his Son, who were walking there. The warm Remonſtrances which the Count de St. Prieſt made to the Porte on this occaſion, added to ſo many other complaints, determined the Emperor to ſend orders to the Capitan Pacha to puniſh the Rebel. That gallant Admiral, therefore, brought his fleet to Smyrna for that purpoſe. He commanded Cara Oſman Oglou to come to his Aſſiſtance with a powerful body of troops,

troops, and, having ſelected ſome brave men from his Ships, marched againſt Ayvaz Aga, who ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized, and had but juſt time to make his eſcape, alone, and conceal himſelf in a Valley, where he was ſoon diſcovered, and brought to the Pacha, who condemned both him and his Kiaya, the accomplice of all his crimes, to loſe their heads. The Admiral was guilty of no cruelty, nor did he maſſacre any perſon, but only employed the Authority with which he was entruſted for the puniſhment of an offender, who had merited the utmoſt Severity by a thouſand crimes.

(S. page 150. Part IV.) This paſſage contains a geographical error. It is not the Gulph of Naples of Romania which forms the Peninſula of the Morea, but that of Engia, anciently called Sinus Saronicus, and that of Lepanto, which, by approaching each other, form the Iſthmus of Corinth, and render the Morea a Peninſula. The Gulph of Naples of Romania is ſituated much more to the South than that of

of Engia, and lies in a ſouth-weſt direction from it.

I ſhall conclude my Letter with one more obſervation relative to Lady Montague. The Reader will pardon with difficulty the Baron de Tott, for having attacked the memory of an illuſtrious woman, who wrote numerous truths concerning the Turks, ſaw them as they were, expreſſed herſelf with elegance, and infuſed that ſenſibility into her work which characteriſes her ſex, the glory of which ſhe has contributed to augment. She will, therefore, readily be pardoned thoſe trifling errors which have eſcaped her.

I have now, Sir, compleated the taſk you were pleaſed to impoſe; but, notwithſtanding the errors I have remarked in the Memoirs, I muſt confeſs I have read them again and again, with the utmoſt pleaſure, ſince they are highly entertaining, and contain particulars of every kind which are extremely intereſting: I could, indeed, have wiſhed that the Baron de Tott had not

not ſo haſtily deſpaired of the Turks; for, whatever we may think of the preſent generation, ſeveral circumſtances, of which he cannot be ignorant, ought to incline us to hope better things from their poſterity. He may, perhaps, himſelf live to ſee thoſe clouds diſſipated by which the glory of the Ottoman nation has been obſcured. To conclude, I muſt again declare that I cannot believe the Memoirs to be wholly ſuch as Baron de Tott would himſelf have publiſhed, but that they muſt have been printed without his knowledge, ſince we find in them ſeveral errors which it is impoſſible to attribute to him.

We may, no doubt, reaſonably expect another edition, more copious and correct. Should the Baron, however, avow that which has appeared, I ſhall neither retract the deſerved commendations I have beſtowed on the Author, nor the critical obſervations I have made on the Work.

THE END.

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